THE HISTORY

of the Life and Reigne of

RICHARD

The Third.

Compoſed in five Bookes

By GEO: BUCK Eſquire.

Honorandus eſt qui injuriam non fecit, ſed qui alios eam facere non patitur, duplici Honore dignus eſt.

Plato de legibus. Lib. 5.

Qui non repellit a proximo injuriam ſi poteſt, tam eſt in vitio quam ille qui infert.

D. Ambroſ. offic. Lib. 3.

LONDON,

Printed by *W. Wilſon*, and are to be ſold by

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The true Portraiture of Richard Plantagenest,
of England and of France King Lord of
Ireland the third King Richard

Cres. sculp:

THE

HISTORY

of the Life and Reign of

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By Geo: Buck Esqre.

The Grenville Library

TO THE FAVOVRABLE ACCEPTANCE

Of the Right Honourable

PHILIP Earle of *Pembrooke* and *Mountgomery*, &c.

Sir,

HAving collected these papers out of their dust, I was bold to hope, there might be something in them of a better fate (if mine obscure pen darken not that too.) Please your Lordshipp to let your name, make them another witnesse of your nobleness, it may redeeme and improve them, to a clearer opinion and acknowlegedment of these times, in which I am to meet every Critick, at his owne weapon, who will challenge the Book at the very Title: The Malicious and Malevolent, with their blutted Coments; the Captious & Incredulous, with their jealous præcisianismes, whose inclinations shewes them of envious perplexed natures, to looke at other mens actions and memory by the wrong end of the perspective, and (me thinks) I fancy them to our shaddowes, which at noone creepe behind like Dwarfes, at evening, stalke by like Gyants; they will haunte the noblest merits and endeavors to their Sun-set, then they monster it: but to the Common-rout, they are another kind of Genius, or

ignis fatuus; *leades them into darke, ſtrange, wanderings, there they ſtick: for to perſwade the opinionated vulgar out of their ignorant ſelves, is of as high a beliefe to me, as to tranſpeciate a Beaſt into a man; I (therefore) ſhall crave favour, to proteſt theſe papers beyond their Cenſure, and humour: But to thoſe they are wiſhed (I hope) their weak acceſſes may be the more pardonable ſince they are the kindlings and ſcintillations of a modeſt Ambition, to truth and gratitude, which gives me the encouragement to aſſure your Lordſhip, that if mine Authors be ſincere and faithfull, my pen is free and innocent, having learned, that a ſtory (as it ought) muſt be a iuſt, perſpicuous Narration of things memorable, ſpoken, and don. The Hiſtoriographer, veritable; free from all Proſopolepſyes, or partiall reſpects, and ſurely his pen ſhould taſt with a great deal of Conſcience, for there is nothing leaves ſo an infected a ſting, or ſcandall, as Hiſtory, it rankles to all poſterity, wounds our good names, to all memory & places, by an Authentick kind of preiudice: I am with his opinion, in his excellent* Religio Medici, *who holds it an offence to Charity, and as bloody a thought one way, as* Nero's *in another; My Lord, under theſe humble addreſſes, this ſues to your honoured hand, Preſented by the unfained wiſhes of your*

Honours avowed

and humble Servant,

GEO: BUCK.

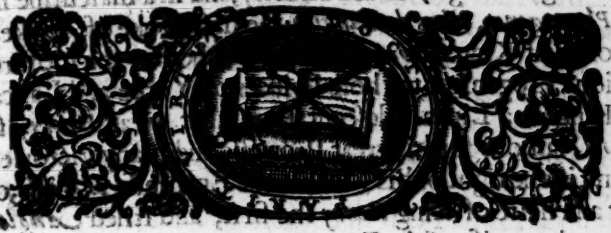
The Argument and Contents of the First Booke.

The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tirociny of King *Richard* the third.

THe Royall house of Plantageneſt, and the beginningof that name; What Sobriquets *were: The antiquity of Sirnames;* Richard *is created Duke of Glouceſter, his marriage, and his iſſue; His martiall imployments; His Iourney into Scotland, and recovery of Barwick; The death of King* Edward *the* 4th. *The Duke of Glouceſter made Lord Protector, and ſoone after, King of England, by importunate ſuite of his Barons and of the People, as the next true and lawfull heire.* Henry Teudor *Earle of Richmond practiſeth againſt the King; He is conveyed into France. The Noble Linage of Sir* William Herbert, *his Imployment; He is made Earle of Pembrooke. King* Edward *the* 4th. *firſt, and after King* Richard, *ſollicite the Duke of Brittaine, and treat with him for the delivery of the young Earle of Richmond his Priſoner. The ſucceſſe of that buſineſſe. The quality and title of the Beauforts or Sommerſets. The Linage and Family of the Earle of Richmond. The ſolemne Coronations of King* Richard, *and of the Queene his wife, his firſt at Weſtminſter, the ſecond at Yorke. Nobles,*

Knights and Officers made by him; Prince Edward *his Son invested in the Principallity of Wales, and the Oath of Allegeance made to him; King* Richard *demandeth the Tribute of France; His Progresse to Yorke; His carefull charge given to the Judges and Magistrates; He holdeth a Parliament, wherein the marriage of the King his Brother with the Lady* Gray *is declared and adjudged unlawfull, their children to be illegitimate and not capable of the Crowne: The Earle of Richmond and divers others attainted of Treason; Many good Lawes made; The K. declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawfull heire of the Crowne. The King and Queene dowager are reconciled; He hath secret advertisemẽts of Innovations and practises against him; Createth a vice-Constable of England. His sundry treaties with Forraigne Princes. Doctor* Morton *corrupteth the Duke of Buckingham, who becometh discontent, demanding the Earledome of Hereford, with the great Constableship of England; He taketh Armes, is defeated and put to death by marshall Law.*

The



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF *RICHARD* THE THIRD, OF *ENGLAND*, AND OF *FRANCE*, KING, AND LORD OF IRELAND.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Glocester, and King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the third of that name, was the younger ſonne of Sir *Richard Plantagenet*, the fourth Duke of Yorke of that Royall Family, and King of England, deſignate by King *Henry* the ſixth, and by the moſt noble Senate, and univerſall Synod of this Kingdome, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this *Richard* Duke of Glocester, was the Lady *Cecily*, Daughter of Sir *Ralph de Neville*, Earle of Weſtmerland, by his wife *Ioane de Beaufort*, the naturall Daughter of *Iohn Plantagenet* (alias) *de Gaunt*, Duke of Guiene and Lancaſter, King of Caſtile and Leon, third Sonne of King *Edward* the third, for in that order this Duke is beſt accounted, becauſe *William* of Hatfield, the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the third dyed in his infancy, and this Duke of Yorke, and King deſignate, was propagated from two younger ſonnes of the ſame King *Edward* the third, whereby he had both Paternall and Maternall Title to the Crowne of England and France: But his better and nearer Title, was the Maternall Title, or that which came to him by his Mother the Lady *Anne de Mortimer*, the Daughter and heire of *Phillippa Plantagenet*, who was the ſole Daughter and heire of *Lyonell Plantagenet*, Duke of Clarence, and ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the third, according to the account and order aforeſaid.

The Houſe and Title of *Yorke*.

And this Lady *Phillip* was the Wife of Sir *Edmond de Mortimer*, the great and famous Earle of March, and that Duke *Richard*, King deſignate, by his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of York (ſirnamed

alſo *de Conningsborrough*) iſſued directly, and in a maſculine line from *Edmond Plantagenet, alias de Langley*, the firſt Duke of Yorke, and the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, who was the moſt renowned and glorious Progenitor to thoſe Princes of Yorke and Lancaſter, and the firſt King in a Lineall deſcent from that great *Henry*, ſirnamed *Plantagenet*, famous for his great Proweſſe and many victories, King of England in the right of his Mother the Empreſſe *Matilda*, or *Maud*, daughter and heire of King *Henry* the firſt, and ſtiled *Anglorum Domina*, ſometime wife of the Emperour *Henry* the fifth, by which he was alſo ſirnamed, *filius imperatricis*: The French men called him, *Henry du Court Manteau*, or Court Mantle, becauſe he wore a cloake ſhorter then the faſhion was in thoſe times. By his Father *Galfride*, or *Geoffry Plantagenet*, he was Earle or Duke of Anjou (for then *Dux*, *& Comes*, and *Ducatus & Comitatus*, were Synonomies & promiſcuous words,) he was alſo Earle of Maine, of Torraine, and hereditary Seneſchall, or High Steward of France, and by his marriage of *Elianor* Queene of France Repudiate, Daughter and heire of *William* Duke of Gaſcoigne and of Guiene, and Earle of Poictou: He was Duke and Earle of thoſe Principalities, and Signiories, alſo by the Empreſſe his Mother Duke of Normandy: He was Lord of Ireland by Conqueſt, and confirmed by Pope *Adrian*. But theſe were not all his Seigniories and Dominions; for after he was King of England, he extended his Empire and Principate in the South to the Pyrenean mountaines, (The Confines of Spaine and France) in the North to the Iſles of Orkney, and in the Eaſt and Weſt with the Ocean, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, *Gul. Newbrigenſis*, *& Ioannes Sariſburienſis*, grave and credible Authors affirme, who ſtiled him, *Regum Britanniæ maximus*; and doubtleſſe he was the greateſt King of Brittaine ſince King *Arthur*.

The Linage of *Edward* 3.

The Empire of K. *Henry* 2.

Girald. in *Topog. Hibernic.* *Sariſbur.* in *Pol.* *Newbrig.* *Lib.* 2.

But it is controverted amongſt the Antiquaries and Heralds, which Earle of Anjou firſt baro the ſirname and *Sobriquet* of *Plantageneſt*, or *Plantagenet* after the vulgar Orthodoxe, by what occaſion, and for what cauſe it was taken and borne, and from what time and age it had beginning: Some would have the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Father of this *Henry*, the firſt Earle of Anjou, which bare it. But we ſhall finde ſtronger reaſons to derive it from a much more ancient Earle of Anjou, and better cauſes then can be found in him, if we ſtep but a little backe to their ſtories, and compare the men and their times. *Geoffry Plantagenet* being a man of a gallant and active fire, diſpoſed to the Courts of Princes, to Juſts Turnaments, &c. and to the Courtſhip of faire Ladies, thoſe of the higheſt ranke, and had ſo amorous a Star, That *Philippe le Groſſe* K. of France, ſuſpected him for too familiar commerce with his bed. But it was of better influence when he atchieved and married the Empreſſe *Matilda*, by which we may very well calculate, he neither had, nor would be intent or at leiſure for ſuch a mortified and perilous Pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. But if we would know the man, let us looke upon the firſt *Fulke*, Earle of Anjou,

Fulk Earle of *Anjou*.

Anjou, who lived about an hundred yeares before the Norman Conqueſt of England, and was Sonne of *Godefray*, or *Geoffry Griſegonell* the firſt Earle of Anjou (according to *du Haillon*) Anceſtor and Progenitor to the foreſaid *Geoffry Plantagenet*, ſome ſeven or eight degrees in the aſcending Line, as *Paradin* accounteth, a man raiſed upon the foundation of a great courage and ſtrength (two of the beſt Principles when they have good ſeconds, and make too a glorious man, where they ſerve his vertues, not affections, as in this Prince they did) whoſe diſpoſition on the other ſide being let out into as vaſte an ambition and covetouſneſſe, ne're looked upon the unlawfulneſſe of his deſires, how horrid ſoever (which amongſt the many reſt) run him upon the ſhelves of wilfull perjury, and murder; the one for defrauding & ſpoiling a Church of certaine Rights, and the other for contriving the Tragedy of his young Nephew, *Drogo*, Earle of Brittaine, to make himſelfe Lord of his Countrey and Principallity. The ſecret checke and ſcourge of thoſe crimes had a long time to worke upon his conſcience, and of a great ſinner made a great Penitent, being old and having much ſolitary time, and many heavy thoughts (which naturally accompany old age, and ſuggeſt better conſiderations of our former and youthfull ſinnes,) he opens the horrour of them, and his afflicted mind to his Confeſſor, (as great *Conſtantine* to *Aegyppus*) who enjoyned him to make the ſame confeſſion before the holy Sepulcher, at Jeruſalem, which Pilgrimage the Earle performed in all lowly and contemptible manner, paſſing as a private and unworthy perſon, without traine or followers, ſave two of his meaneſt, which he tooke rather for witneſſes then ſervants, whoſe ſervice was, when they came neare Jeruſalem, the one with a cord (ſuch as is uſed for the ſtrangling of Criminals) thrown about his Maſters neck, to draw or leade him to the holy ſepulcher, whilſt the other did *aconſtré* and ſtrip him as a condemned perſon, and with extremity ſcourge him untill he was proſtrate before the ſacred Monument where he gave evidence of his unfained contrition and ſorrow. Amongſt other devout expreſſions, uttering this, *Mon dieu & Seigneur receoy a Pardon le perjure & homicide & miſerable Foulque*; And after this pilgrimage he lived many years of proſperity in his Country honoured of all men. To juſtifie this, there be many Examples of other Princes and Noble Perſons, who lived about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand, and ſomewhat before, and in three or foure ages after, who under went the like Pilgrimages impoſed under baſe and mechanicke nick-names and perſons, as of a Carpenter, a Smith, a Fiſher-man, a Mariner, a Shepheard, a Woodman, a Broome-man, &c. In my Inquiry after that of *Plantagenet*, I met with an ancient Manuſcript, that afforded me a large Catalogue of many ſuch, by the French called *Sobriquets*, from whence I have tranſcribed theſe few for a taſte.

Aconſtre in criminall & condemne. Paradin.

From this example *Henry* 2. ſubmitted his body to be ſcourged by the *Monks* of *Canterbury* for the death of *Tho. Becket.*

Berger,

After this manner and long after K. H. 2 the heire and ſucceſſour of this Earle, *Fulke* was injoyned by the Pope to go to the *Holy-Land*, and to fight againſt the Infidels, *Hovend. Rival.* &c.

Sobriquets.

Berger, Shepheard.	*Hapkin*, Hatchet.
Griſegõnelle, gray-coat	*Chapelle*, Hood.
Teſte de Eſtonpe, Head of towe.	*Sans-terre*, Lackland.
Arbuſte, A Shrub.	*Malduit*, Ill taught.
Martell, A Hammer.	*Geffard*, *Jeuvencus*, or *Heyfer*.
Grande bœuf, Ox-face.	*Filz de Fleau*, Son of a Flaile.
La Zouch, Branch upon a Stem.	*Plantageneſt*, the Plant or ſtalk of a Broome.
Houlette, a ſheep-hook.	

And under the name and habit of a Broome-man our Pilgrim performed this Penance, and tooke the *Sobriquet* of *Plantageneſt* from wearing a ſtalke of Broome, or plant of *Geneſt*; this is generally received, but the time and reaſon neither ſet downe nor rendred by any of our Heralds and Antiquaries, French or Engliſh; for the time when he performed this, I obſerve it about the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand certainly. But for the particular relation, this Count had to chuſe the *geneſt* plant, or Broome-ſtalke before any other vegitall or thing, I ſhall lay downe that opinion which is mine owne noting for a circumſtance by the way, that the Broome in Hieroglyphicall Learning is the Symbole of humility, and the Poets, particularly *Virgil* the beſt of Poets, give it the Epithet of *humilis*, *humilis geniſta*; and the Etymologiſts derive it from *genu* the knee, the part moſt applyed, and as it were dedicate to the chiefe Act of Reverence, kneeling, to which the naturall Philoſophers ſay, there is ſo mutuall a correſpondency, and ſo naturall a ſympathy between *genu* and *geniſta*, that of all other plants or vegitals, it is moſt comfortable and medicinable to the paines and diſeaſes of the knees. *Pliny* a great Maſter amongſt them ſaith, *Geniſta tuſca, cum*, &c. *genua dolentia ſanat*.

Leon. Fuchſius.

Plin. Lib. 24. cap. 9.

But the conſiderable reaſon is, as I conceive it, from the uſe he was conſtrained to make of the twigges of Broome when he came to be ſcourged at Jeruſalem, the place neceſſitating the uſe of them to that purpoſe, being (as *Strabo* relates) a ſtony, ſandy, and barren ſoyle, only naturall and grateſull to the *geneſt*, as the watry and moiſt to the Birch, Willow and Withy, of which there could be none there, for that reaſon. And from hence it muſt moſt conjecturally take the beginning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Poſteries continued for their ſirname, who became Dukes & Princes in ſundry

Strabo, Lib. 16.

ſundry places, and ſome of them Kings of England, France, Scotland and Ireland; and (as the pious people of that Age verily beleeved by their obſervation) were the more proſperous and happy for his ſake. *Du Haillon.*

For the continuance of the Name, ſome (who pretend to ſee further and better in the darke then others as cleare ſighted) would have it taken of late time, and not uſed by the Kings and Princes of England, of the Angeume race. But there are many proofes to be adduced againſt them; Let us looke into Maſter *Brookes* genealogies of England, we ſhall find nothing more obvious and frequent in the deductions of thoſe Princes of the Houſe of Anjou, then the addition and ſirname of *Plantagenet*; *Edm. Plantagenet*, *Geo. Plantagenet*, *Iohn Plantagenet*, *Edward Plantagenet*, *Lyonell Plantagenet*, *Humphry Plantagenet*, &c. In the French Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, *Iean de Tillet*, *Girard du Haillon*, *Claude Paradin*, *& Iean Baron de la Hay*, we ſhall often meet with *Geoffry Plantagenet*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *Richard Plantagenet*, and diverſe the like, all of the firſt Age, when the Angeume Princes firſt became Engliſh, and ſome before. Maſter *Camden* alſo in his *Immortall Britannia*, mentioneth ſome very ancient, as *Richard Plantagenet*, *Iohn Plantagenet*, &c. And witneſſeth, that the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet* uſed to weare a Broome-ſtalke in his Bonnet, as many Nobles of the Houſe of Anjou did, and tooke it for their chiefe ſirname. It might be added, that theſe Earles of Anjou were deſcended out of the great houſe of Saxon in Germany, which hath brought forth many Kings, Emperors and Dukes; and that they were of kindred and alliance to the ancient Kings of France, and ſundry other Princes. But I will cloſe here for the high Nobility of King *Richard*, as the good old Poet did for another Heroicall Perſon: In his Catalogue of Honour.

——*Deus eſt utroque parente.* Ovid. *Deus. i. Rex.*

And come to the other matters of his private ſtory. And firſt for his Birth and native place, which was the Caſtle of Fotheringay, or as ſome write, the Caſtle of Birkhamſteed, both Caſtles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the yeare of our Lord 1450, which I diſcover by the calculation of the Birth, Raigne, and death of King *Edward* his brother, who was borne about 1441, or 1442. and raigned two and twenty yeares, dyed at the age of one and forty, *Anno* 1483. The Dutcheſſe of Yorke their Mother had five children betwixt them, ſo that *Richard* could not be leſſe then ſeven or eight yeares younger then King *Edward*, and he ſurvived him not fully three yeares.

This *Richard Plantagenet*, and the other children of *Richard* Duke of Yorke, were brought up in Yorke-ſhire, and Northampton-ſhire, but lived for the moſt part in the Caſtle of Midelham in Yorke-ſhire, untill the Duke their Father, and his Sonne *Edmund Plantagenet* Earle of Rutland were ſlaine in the battell of Wakefield, *Anno Dom.* 1641,

1641, upon which the Dutcheſſe of Yorke their Mother (having cauſe to feare the faction of Lancaſter, which was now growne very exulting and ſtrong, and of a mortall enmity to the Houſe af Yorke) ſecretly conveyed her two younger ſonnes, *George* and *Richard Plantagenet* (who was then about ſome ten yeares old) into the Low-Countries, to their Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Dutcheſſe of Burgundy, Wife of *Charles* Duke of Burgundy and Brabant, and Earle of Flanders. They continued at Utrich, the chiefe City then in Holland, where they had Princely and liberall education, untill *Edward* Earle of March their eldeſt Brother had revenged his Fathers death, and taken the Kingdome and Crowne (as his right) from *Henry* the ſixth, when he called home his two Brothers, and enters them into the practiſe of Armes, to ſeaſon their forwardneſſe and honour of Knighthood which he had beſtowed upon them; and ſoone after inveſts *George* into the Dutchy of Clarence, and Earledome of Richmond, which Earledome he the rather beſtowed upon him, to darken the young Earle of Richmond, *Henry Teudor*. *Richard* had the Dukedome of Gloceſter, and Earledome of Carlile, as I have read in an old Manuſcript ſtory, which Creation the Heralds doe not allow. But whether he were Comes thereof after the ancient Roman underſtanding, that is, Governour, or Comes, or Count, after the common taking it by us Engliſh, or others; that is, for a ſpeciall Titular Lord, I will not take upon me to determine, but affirme I have read him, *Comes Carliolenſis*.

Lib. manuſ. in quarto apud D. Rob. Cotton. Comes, i. Præſes.

And after the great Earle of Warwicke and Salisbury, *Richard de Neville*, was reconciled to the Kings favour, *George* Duke of Clarence was married to the Lady *Iſabell*, or *Elizabeth*, the elder Daughter of that Earle, and *Richard* Duke of Gloceſter to the Lady *Anne*, which Ladies by their Mother the Lady *Anne de Beauchamp*, Daughter and heire of Sir *Richard de Beauchamp*, Earle of Warwicke, were heires of that Earledome. But *Anne*, although the younger ſiſter, was the better woman, having been a little before married to *Edward Plantagenet*, Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cornwall, only Sonne of King *Henry* the ſixth, and was now his Princeſſe and Dowager, by whom Duke *Richard* had a ſonne called *Edward*, created Prince of Wales when his Father came to the Crowne.

The imployment of this Duke was for the moſt part in the North, as the Countrey of his birth, ſo more naturally affected by him according to the Poet:

——*Natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos mulcet.* Ovid.

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony, with a great Eſtate of the Dutcheſſe his Wife, of which the Signiory of Penrith, vulgò, Perith in Cumberland was part, where he much reſided, and built or repaired moſt of the Caſtles, all that Northerne ſide generally honouring and affecting his Deportment, being magnificent, (to apply

Camden in *Cumberland.*

Sir

Sir *Thomas Moore* something above his ability: which he exprest most in his hospitality. And surely, if men are taken to the life best from their actions, we shall find him in the circle of a Character (not so commaculate and mixt, as passionate and purblinde pens have dasht it) whilst we squint not at those vertues in him, which make up other Princes absolute; His wisedome and courage, had not then their nicknames and calumny, as now, but drew the eyes and acknowledgment of the whole Kingdome towards him; and his brother had a sound experience of his fidelity and constancy in divers hazardous congresses and battels, through which he had faithfully followed his fortune, and return'd all his undertakings successefull: as at Barnet, where he entred so farre and boldly into the Enemies Army, that two of his Esquires, *Thomas Parr* and *Iohn Milwater* being nearest to him were slaine; yet by his owne valour he quit himselfe, and put most part of the Enemies to flight, the rest to the sword. With the like valour he behaved himselfe at the battell of Exon, Doncaster, St Albans, Blore-heath, Northampton, Mortimers Crosse, and Tewkesbury. And it was then confest a very considerable service to the State, his taking of the famous Pyrate, *Thomas Nevill*, alias, *Faulkonbridge*, Earle of Kent, with whom complyed Sir *Richard de Nevill*, Earle of Warwicke, a neare kinsman to the Earle of Kent his naturall Father, which held him up in the better esteeme, and whetted him to any Attempt. For this haughty Earle, who had drawne him from the House of Yorke (to which he had done valiant service not long before) to the party of *Henry 6.* and his Lancastrian faction, and fearing what forces and aid King *Edward* might have from beyond Sea, provides a warlike Fleet for the narrow Seas, of which this *Faulconbridge* was appointed Admirall, with Commission to take or sinke all Ships he met, either of the Kings friends or Subjects; who did not under act it, but made many depredations on the Coasts, and put many to the Sword becoming an Enemy, the more considerable, King *Edward* finding (as the case stood then with him) his Attemps by Sea would be of too weake a proofe to surprise him, which the Duke of Gloucester contrived by an advertisement he had of his private stealth into severall of the parts, sometimes where he had recourse to some abetters of that Faction, and comming too shore at *Southampton*, by a ready Ambush seized and apprehended him, from whence he was conveyed to *London*, so to Middleham Castle, and after he had told some Tales, put to death. And whilst he continued in the Northern parts, he governed those Countries with great Wisdome and Justice, preserving the Concord and Amity betweene the Scots and English, though the breaches were not to be made up with any strength and continuance, the borders living out of mutuall spoyles, and common Rapines, ever prompt for any cause that might beget braules and feuds. And in the last yeare of the Reigne of the King his brother, the Quarrels grew so outragious and hostile, that nothing could compose them, but the Sword and open War

Sir *William Haward.*

purblind *Quasi* part blind.

The Bastard *Faulconbridge.*

An Army ſent into Scotland under the D. of Gloceſter.

ariſing from an unjuſt detaining the Tribute, King *Iames* was yearly bound to pay, as *Polidore* thus writeth.

King *Edward* tooke it very ill at the hands of *Iames* fourth King of Scotland, that he refuſed to pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Covenant; And therefore reſolved by Armes to compell him to it: But King *Edward* being diſtracted with a jealous care and watching of France, neglected that buſineſſe of Scotland, and in the meane time *Alexander* Duke of Albany, Brother to King *Iames*, pretending earneſt buſineſſe in France, makes England in his way, and inſtigates King *Edward* to put on Armes againſt his Brother, promiſing to returne ſhortly out of France, and raiſe a power in Scotland for his aide: Hereupon the King reſolved it, and ſent the Duke of Gloceſter with a good Armie into Scotland, who marched maſter of the field neare to Barwicke, having a little before ſent thither *Thomas Stanley* to beſiege it, and ſoone after tooke it himſelfe. But the Duke of Albany failed him, and had underhand ſtrooke up a peace with his Brother of Scotland; yet *Richard* of Glouceſter accompliſhed the expedition very honourably and happily: Thus *Polidore*. But to enlarge what he reporteth defertively, and abridgeth; King *Edward*, notwithſtanding that negligence (noted by him) levied ſtrong forces (the King of Scotland being as vigilant in that buſineſſe) and made the Duke of Gloceſter his Generall, under whom went Sir *Henry Peircy* Earle of Northumberland, the Lord *Stanley* after Earle of Derby, the Lord *Lovell*, the Lord *Gray* of Greſtocke, the Lord *Scroope* of Bolton, the Lord *Fitzhugh*, Sir *William Parre* of Roſe a noble and valiant Gentleman, Father of the Lord *Parr* of Roſe, Kendall, and *Fitzhugh*, and Grandfather to Sir *William Parr* Earle of Eſſex, and Marqueſſe of Northampton, Sir *Edward Woodville* Lord *Rivers* Brother to the Queene *Elizabeth*, with many other of Eminency and Noble quality. The Duke marched firſt with his Armie to the borders and frontieres of Scotland, giving the overthrow to ſuch as reſiſted, then made up to the ſtrong Towne of Barwicke, which at that inſtant the King of Scotland poſſeſſed by the ſurrender of *Henry 6*, and had the like ſucceſſe with thoſe Troopes of the Enemies he met and found about the Towne. After a ſhort ſiege the beſieged upon Summons and Parlee (finding themſelves too weake to make good the oppoſition) were eaſily perſwaded to be at quiet, and ſafely rendring the Towne and Caſtle vpon very ſlender conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of *Croyland*. Having plac't a Governour and Garriſon in the Towne, he continued his march towards Edenborough, with a purpoſe to beſiege and ſacke it, but was met in the halfe way by Embaſſadours from thence, who (after a favourable audience and acceſſe craved) in the name of their King and Nation implore a League, or at leaſt a Truce betweene the Kingdomes, offering ſo faire conditions for it, that the Generall after a deliberate conſultation, granted to ſuſpend or intermit all hoſtile proceedings, with a faire entertainement to their perſons, and a publike Edict throughout the Army, that no Engliſh

Anno 24. Ed. 4.

Chron. Croy.

ſhould

ſhould offer any violence or offence to any Scot or their goods, and by this provident truce, that ruddy ſtorme (which ſeemed terrible to impend) was diverted and made a calme preface to the famous League, afterward concluded by him when he was K. and *Iames* the 4th of Scotland. But whilſt theſe imployments ſtaid him there, newes arrived of King *Edwards* death, and was muttered very doubtfully by ſome who had confidence and ground to ſuppoſe it haſtened by treachery. The Nobles at London, and in the South parts ſpeedily call the Duke home by their private letters and free approbation, to aſſume the Protection of the Kingdome, and two Princes committed unto him by the King. *Rex Edwardus 4. filios ſuos Richardo Duci Gloceſtriæ, in tutelam moriens tradidit*: as *Polidore* teſtifieth.

The doubtfull death of K. E. 4 *vid. lib. 4.*

The Duke of Glouceſter made Lord Protector.

The Army and affaires of thoſe parts diſpoſed, he came to Yorke, where he made a few daies ſtay to pay ſome religious Offices and Ceremonies to the manes and exequies of the deceaſed King, ſo haſtned to London, having in his Traine (beſides his owne ordinary Retinue) ſixe hundred voluntary Gentlemen of the North parts, brave Horſemen and gallantly mounted, upon the way he diſpatched certaine ſeguall meſſengers to the young King (who was then at Ludlow Caſtle in Wales) to provide for his honourable Conduct of London where he arrived not long after the Lord Protector, and was magnificently received and lodged at the Biſhops Pallace; his Brother the Duke of Yorke was then with the Queene Mother in the Pallace at Weſtminſter, who out of a pretended motherly care (rather indeed her pollicy) would not let him ſtirre from her to ſee the King, who had deſired his company, but inſtantly takes Sanctuary with him in the Abbey. The Lord Protector ſollicites her by ſome Noblemen to ſend or bring him to the King, which ſhe peremptorily ſtood againſt, untill Cardinall *Bourſer*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was made the Meſſenger, who ſo gravely and effectually perſwaded with her, that ſhe delivered him the Duke: After ſome dayes reſpite in London-Houſe, the King (according to ancient cuſtome) was to remove Court to the Tower of London, the Caſtle Royall, and chiefe Houſe of ſafety in the Kingdome, untill the more weighty affaires of the State, and ſuch troubles (if any hapned, as often interceeds the alterations of Raignes were well diſpatched and compoſed (ſome threatning evils of that kind being diſcovered and extinguiſhed before the Protector came to London.) And untill all things proper to his Coronation were in preparation and readineſſe, the Lord Protector ſtill being neere unto him with all duty and care, and did him homage, as Honourable *Phillippe de Comines, Le Duc de Gloceſter avoit fait homage á ſon Nepheu Comme á ſon Roy & ſouverain Seigneur*; but this Teſtimony being avoucht by one who loved not the Protector may leave more credit; who ſayes, when the young King approacht towards London, the Lord Protector his Uncle rode barehead before him; and in paſſing along, ſaid with a loud voice to the People; *Behold your Prince and Soveraigne*, to which the Prior of Croyland, who lived in thoſe dayes, reporteth,

Phil. de comines in Lud. 11.

Sir *Tho. Moore.*

Chronic: *Abbat. Croy.*

Richardus Protector nihil reverentiæ, quod capite nudato, genu Flecto aliove quolibet corporis habitu inſubdito exigit, regi nepotiſue facere diſtulit aut recuſavit; And why ſhould theſe ſervices and his conſtancy be judged leſſe real to the Son then to the Father, his care & providence looking pregnantly through all turnes that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely remov'd ſuch of Danger as were vehemently ſuſpected for their Ambition and inſolent aſſuming Power and Authoritie not proper to them, and ſo ſtood ill-affected to their Prince, and turbulent Maligners of the Government. And thus his ſtrict juſtice to ſome, begat the envie of others, as it fell out in the time of King *Edward*, betweene thoſe of the blood Royall (with whom the ancient Barons ſided) and the Reginiſts, who being ſtubborne, haughty, and incomputable of the others nearneſſe to the King, ſtir'd up Competitions and turbulencies among the Nobles, and became ſo inſolent and publique in their pride, and Out-rages towards the people, that they forc't their murmurs at length to bring forth mutiny againſt them: But finding the Kings inclination gentle on that ſide, they ſo temper'd it, as they durſt extend their malice to the Prince of the blood, and chiefe Nobilitie, many times by ſlanders and falſe ſuggeſtions, privately incenſing the King againſt them, who ſuffered their inſinuations too farre, whilſt his credulitie ſtood abus'd, and his favour often alienated from thoſe, whoſe innocence could underſtand no cauſe for it. The Engines of thoſe intruſions and ſupplantations, were the *Greyes*, the *Woodvills*, and their kinſmen, who held a ſtrong beliefe, to have better'd their power with the young King their kinſman, and then they might have acted their Rodomontades and injuries in a higher ſtraine, remov'd the Prince of the blood, and ſet up what limits they pleaſed to their Faction and Power during the minoritie of the King, and after too, whilſt the Queene Mother could uſurpe or hold any ſuperintendency upon the Soveraigntie, or her Sonne. Theſe things, and the miſchiefes that ſeem'd to ſuperimpend the State, equally poiz'd, and conſulted, by the Lord Protector, and others of the principall Nobilitie, it was reſolv'd, to give a timely remedy or period unto them; all which Sir *Thomas Moore* acknowledgeth, and confeſſeth, the Nobles of the Kingdome had reaſon to ſuſpect and feare the Queenes Kindred, would put their power more forward when their Kinſman came to be King, then in his Fathers time, although then their inſolencies were intollerable. And this Author further acknowledgeth there had bin a long grudge & heart-burning betweene the King and Queenes Kindred in the time of King *Edward*; which the King, although he were partiall for the Queenes Faction, was earneſt to reconcile, but could not: And after he was dead, the Lord *Gray*, Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Lord *Rich. Gray*, and the Lord *Rivers*, made full accompt to ſway the young King; and having learn'd, it was beſt fiſhing in a troubled ſtreame, threw all occaſions of diſſention amongſt the great men of this Kingdome, that ſo, whilſt the other Nobles were buſie in their owne quarrells, they might

The inſolency of the Queens Kindred.

Sir *Thomas Moore*, in *Edward* 5. *Rich.* 3.

might take an opportunitie to assault and supplant where they hated. And for provision towards the Designe, the Marquesse had secretly gain'd a great quantity of the Kings treasure out of the Tower, and the *Woodevills* made good preparations of Armes; of which, some were met with by the way as they were conveighed close packed in Carts. It was therefore high time for the Protector and ancient Nobilitie to looke circumspectly about them, and fasten on all occasions that might prevent such growing Treacheries, which could be no way but by taking off their heads. Which being resolved, the Marquesse of *Dorset*, the Lord *Richard Gray* their Uncle, Sir *Anthony Woodeville*, Lord *Rivers*, and some other of that kindred and Faction were apprehended, and at Pomfret executed (onely the Marquesse, by some private notice given him, fled, and tooke Sanctuary) At the same time the Lord *Hastings* (who much favoured the Queene and her partie, especially the Marquesse (therefore the more to be suspected dangerous) was Arrested for High Treason, and in the Tower upon the Greene had his head chop't off, an Act of more strange and severe appearance then the other, having the esteeme of a good Subject, and generally supposed much affectionate to the Protector, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. And Sir *Thomas Moore*, reporteth, that the Protector was most unwilling to have lost him, but that he saw him joyning with their Enemies, and so his life had ill requited them and their purpose; this was a *Dilemma*; But what that purpose was, and what they had in Agitation at that instant is not directly said; onely from other places of the Story. And those which follow Sir *Thomas Moore*, it may be conceiv'd, they doubted him for his affectation of the Soveraigntie, & some practice against the King and his Brother, for those be the charges they presse upon him, although it is neither said, nor made good by any direct and just proofe. But admit he was now growne jealous of him, and sent Sir *William Catsby*, a man in great credit with the Lord *Hastings*, to sound what opinion he held of that Title and Claime he might lay to the Crowne, who (presuming upon *Catsbies* gratitude and trust that had beene advanced by him) without circumstance, and even with indignation expresst an utter mislike thereof, and engaged himselfe, his uttermost power and abilitie against it, peremptorily adding, he had rather see the death and destructions of the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, then the young King deprived of the Crowne: Which reply, *Catsby*, (being more just to his employment then honour in this poynt) returnes the Protector, who layd hold upon the next occasion to seize his head, which is the greatest and bloodiest Crime that brings any proofe against him; and yet not so cleare, but that there may be some other State-mistery or fraud suspected in it. Let us leave it upon that accompt, and but consider how much more woe forgive the fames of *H. 1. E. 3. H. 4. E. 4. H. 7.* because they had their happy Starres and successe, and then, *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur*, there is applause goes with the Act and Actor: *Iulius Cæsar*, was, and ever will

Lord *Hastings.*

Sir *Thomas Moore.*

will be reputed a wise and a great Captaine, although his Emulation cost an infinite quantitie of excellent humane blood, and his Nephew, *Octa. Augustus*, never ceased proscribing banishing and massacring, untill he had dispatched all his proud Emulators: *Iulius Cæsar* thought it, *Crimen sacrum vel crimen Regale*; or, *Crimen sacrum Ambitio*: whole rule was,

Cic. lib. 3. de offic. & Suet. in vitâ Julii Cesaris.

Si violandum est jus, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.

If right for ought may e're be violate,
It must be only for a Soveraign State.

Drawing it from that rule (though *Apocrypha*) in *Euripides*.

Eurip. in Phœniss.

Εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον ἦν κτανεῖν τυραννίδος ἔρᾳ
Κἄλλοισιν ἄλλα νόμιμ' ἐστὶ δεισεβεῖν κράτος.

Si injuste agere oportet, pro tyrannide (aut regno) pulcherrimum est injuste agere, in aliis pietatem colere expedit.

And *Antonius Caracalla*, alledged the Text to justifie the killing of his Brother *Geta* his *Collegue*, in the Empire. *Polynices*, the Brother of *Eteocles* was of the same Religion, and said, A Kingdome could not be bought at too high a rate, put in Friends, Kindred, Wife, and Riches. *Via ad potentiam est tollere Emulos & premere Adversarios*, which the great Master of Axiomes allowed, hath beene countenanced by many great examples of State-reason, and policie in all times, even since the Oogygian Age for an old observation, and generall in all forraigne Countries saith,

Axiom. Polit.

Senec. in trag.

——— *Regnum furto*
Et fraude ademptum antiquum est specimen imperii.

So King *Atreus*, by his owne experience could say;

——— *Vt nemo doceat fraudis & sceleris*
viam, Regnum docebit.

But what those Ages call'd Valour, Wisedome, and Policy, in those great Schollers of State, who with credit practised their *Artes Imperii*, and rules of Empire, comes not under the license or warrant of our Christian times; yet we may speak thus much for *Richard* (to those who cry him so deepe an homicide) that he had either more conscience or lesse cruelty then they attribute to him, that by the same Act of power could not secure himselfe of others he had as just cause to feare, especially *Iasper* Earle of Pembroke, his Nephew *Richmond*, and

Artes imperii.

and the subtill Doctor *Morton*, who was extreamly his Enemy, and the Chiefe Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And although the King had no certain notice which way his Engins wrought, yet he knew enough to suspect him for, and to remove him from the Councell-Table unto the custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the man he had reason to suppose neerest to his trust, though his expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now secretly in his heart defected from the King, and become male-content; *Morton* but toucht his pulse, and knew how the distemper lay, which he irritated into such sparklings as gave him notice where his constitution was most apt and prepared; yea, so subtilly mastred it, that he had leave to steale from Brecknock Castle to Ely, so for good store of Coine found safe passage into France whither his desires vehemently carried him, in hope to fashion the Earle of *Richmond* to his Plot; and under pretence of a Lancastrian Title, to stirre him to take up Armes and invade England, with the Assurance of many mightie friends here, which would make the Designe of an easie and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificiall and Eloquent perswasions adde to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earles temper like other mens in that, and observing him with a kind of pleasure listen, he gave such a studied glosse and superlation to the Text, that the Earle was now so full of encouragement and hope for the invasion, that their purposes spread as well into England as in France. The Protector having also certaine intelligence of some particular Designes, disposed himselfe in his actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engaged themselves to *Richmond*, who yet kept a face of love and fidelitie towards him, as did the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Countesse of *Richmond*, who appeared at this instant an earnest Suitor to reconcile her Sonne into favour; and that the King would bee pleased, to bestow on him any of King *Edward* the fourth his Daughters. But this took not the vigilancy of his eye from him and his partie, the cause being of greater danger and apprehension now, then in King *Edwards* time; for the Earle had drawne unto him many of the English Nobilitie and Gentry; and some Forraigne Princes had in favour to him promised their aydes. But in the time of King *Edward*, his Title and he, was so little understood by his blood of Lancaster, that the better judging-sort of the English Nobilitie and Gentry, King *Lewis* the eleventh of France, *Francis* the second Duke of Brittaine, and other Forraigne Princes looked very slightly upon it. And yet, as *John Harding* observed, the King might be jealous of him, being given out for an Heire of the House of Lancaster, and Nephew to *Henry* the sixt: With this he considered, that some Forraigne Princes stood not well-affected to him; or that some at home, envying his House and Posteritie, would catch at any sparke to trouble his peace, and kindle a Sedition; therefore he had good reason to thinke, that as his libertie might make these beginnings more popular, so their ends more dangerous and ingrate-

grateſull (the vulgar taſting all things by the eare, and judging by the neiſe) which he ſought earely to prevent. For *Phillip Comines* reports, When he firſt came to know this Earle, he was then a Priſoner in Brittaine, and told him, he had beene either in Priſon, or under ſtrict command from five yeares old, which is not unlikely; for I find him but young when he was committed to the cuſtody of Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of Ragland Caſtle in Monmouthſhire, where he continued not long; for *Jaſper*, Earle of Pembrooke, who was Uncle unto Him (being then in France, whether he had fled after the overthrow of the Lancaſtrians at Tewkesbury, (as *Iohn Stow*) having advertiſement that his Nephew was under Sir *William Herberts* cuſtody, with whom he had Alliance and friendſhip, came ſecretly out of France into Wales, and at Ragland Caſtle found onely the Lady *Herbert*, her Husband being with the King; in whoſe abſence, the Earle practiſed ſo cunningly with her, that he got his Nephew from thence, and conveighed him to his owne Caſtle of Pembrooke, (the young Earles native place) preſuming upon the ſtrength of it and the peoples affection, but over-weaned in his opinion and hope. For ſo ſoone as the King received notice of the eſcape, Sir *William Herbert* was commanded to levie Forces, and make towards them, a man of a wiſe and valiant diſpoſition, deſcended from *Herbertus*, who was Chamberlaine and Treaſurer of the Kings, *William Rufus*, and *Henry Beauclerke*, and was created Earle of Pembrooke afterward; from this Noble *Herbertus* are deſcended the *Herberts* Earles of Pembrooke and Montgomery, and many other Welch Gentlemen of that Sir-name and Family.

The flight of *Richmont* with his Vncle *Pembrooke*.

The Earle of *Rich.* borne in Pembrooke Caſtle.

The two Earles being informed of his approaches and ſtrength, diſtruſting their owne, fled by night, and poſted to the Port of Tinby, where they kept cloſe untill a fit opportunitie, offered them tranſportation for France, intending to ſee the Court there, where the Earle of Pembrooke had not long before received a very favourable entertainment. But a violent ſtorme diverted their courſe, and runne them upon the coaſts of Little Brittaine, which fell out as a ſad diſaſter, and croſſe to them and their Deſigne for a long time after, the Duke of Brittaine being no friend to it; but at the Port of St. Malos they muſt land. What ſucceſſe they met with in this flight (and other Noble Engliſhmen which followed the unluckie partie of *Henry* the ſixt, being conſtrained when he was overthrowne by *Edward* the fourth to fly) will fall into our diſcourſe hereafter: there is this memoriall in the Stories of Brittaine.

This flight of theirs was in *Anno* 11. *E.* 4. *Iohn Stow.*

Pluſieurs du Seigneurs d'Angleterre qui tenoyent la partie du Roy H. 6. ſen firent par mer hors du Royaulme entr'autres le Conte de Pembrooke faiſant ſauver un jeune Prince de Angleterre nommé Henry Conte de Richmont.

Whilſt theſe Earles made ſome ſtay in Saint Malo to refreſh themſelves, *Francis* the ſecond, Duke of Brittaine had notice of their landing, who ſent as ſpeedily a Command to the Governour to arreſt

Earle of *Rich.* Priſoner in Brittaine.

reſt them both into ſafe cuſtody, an act, as it appeared, both ſtrange and injurious, being ſubjects to a Prince with whom the Duke had league. But for a better gloſſe, he had found a conſiderable clauſe to detaine the Earle of Richmond untill he had received ſatisfaction of him for uſurping and holding the Title and Eſtate of Richmond, belonging to the ancient Dukes of Brittaine (whoſe heire and ſucceſſor he was) though diſeiſed by the ſpace of thirty yeares, now he would expect either reſtitution or compenſation for it; and the better to aſſure himſelfe, he conveyes them with a good guard to the Caſtle of Vanes, where himſelfe often reſided, continuing a more cautious and ſtrict eye upon the Earle of Richmond, as Nephew to *Henry* the ſixt, and he that laid claime to the Title and Crowne of England, by the bloud of Lancaſter: For which he made their impriſonment more honourable, as *Philip Comines* ſaith, *Le Duc les traitta doucement pour Priſonniers*. And *Iean Froiſard* cals it, *Priſon Courtoiſe*; for the Duke had well conſidered what expectation and uſe he might raiſe by them, and knew the newes could not be diſtaſtefull to the King of England, whoſe Throne had been threatned ſo much by the Earle of Richmonds liberty; and therefore, from hence he hoped an anſwerable benefit, and to contract the King in a firme amity and acknowledgment unto him; nay, which is further, (if we may beleeve *Iac. Nyerus*) he thought by this occaſion to beare the reines ſo hard upon King *Edward*, as that he ſhould not dare to make any breach with him, *propter Henricum Richmontiæ Comitem non audebat Anglus ab amicitia Britanni diſcedere.*

The laſt D. of Brittaine, who was Earle of Richmond, & poſſeſſed of the Earledome, was *John de Monſort*, who flouriſhed *An. Dom.* 1440, & had ſons, but not Earles of Richmond, as *Rob. Glou.* writeth, & now this *Francis* 1. renewed the claime which was about 30 yeares after *John de Montfort*, Duke of Brittaine.

Iac. Nyerus in Annal. Fland. lib. 17.

Nor was this Author much miſtaken, for the King would have accorded to any reaſonable thing to purchaſe the Earle into his hands, and it was no little perplexity to him when he heard of their flight, but was the better calmed when he underſtood where they were, the Duke of Brittaine being his friend and Allie, in whom he ſuppoſed ſo neare an intereſt (ſet off by ſome other conditions) that he ſaw a faire encouragement to demand and gaine them both; whereas had they falne into France, he muſt have expected the greateſt diſadvantage could have been contrived out of ſuch an occaſion. For *Lewis*, though he were then in truce and league with him, was meerly a Politician, and ſtudied only his owne ends, yet feares him as a King famous for his Proweſſe and Victories, and as ably ſupplyed in his Coffers for all undertakings: But (which did equally quicken the hate aſwell as feare of France) had threatened to enter it with fire and ſword, for the reconqueſt of the Dutchy of Normandy and Aquitaine, the Counties of Poictou and Tutaine; wherefore we may beleeve that beares the credit of an Oracle, which good *Ennius* ſaid:

King *Edward* treateth for the delivery of Richmond.

——Quem metuunt oderunt,
Quem oderunt, periiſſe expetunt.

Ennius apud Cicer. in Offic.

And doubtleſſe in his heart he was favourable to any chance that might

might have ruined or infested England, and could have wisht the Earle of Richmond and his Title under his Protection. King *Edward* seasonably prevented this, that such attempts, though at first they appeared but like the Prophets Cloud, might not spread after into spacious stormes. And to prevent all underhand Contracts with the Duke of Brittaine, dispatcht Letters unto him, further interpreted by a rich Present, and richer promises. The Duke receives both with as Honourable Complement, protesting none could be more ready to doe the King of Englands Commands then he. But where he treated for the delivery of the Earles, he hoped to be lawfully excused, being an Act would cast a staine and scandall, not only upon his credit and honour, but upon all Princely and hospitable Priviledges, and could appeare no lesse then a meere impiety to thrust such distressed persons as fled to their protection, into the Armes of their enemies; and it was his opinion, if any malice or violence should be acted upon them, the guilt must reflect on him. But that the King might beleeve he was forward to come as near his desires, as in honour could be, he engaged himselfe to keep so carefull and vigilant a watch upon them, that they should have no more power to endanger him, then if they were in strict Prison. This being returned, though not agreable to the Kings hope and wishes, yet bearing such a Caution of Honour and Wisdome, he remained satisfied; and so it paused for the space of eight yeares, (as I conjecture) for the King made this demand in the twelfth yeare of his Raigne 1472, all which time he was very intent to preserve the League with good Summes of Mony, and costly Presents. In the twentieth of his Raigne 1480, he received intelligence, that the Earle of Richmond had stird up fresh Embers, and new friends in the French Court to blow them, and that the French King had dealt by solicitation of the Earle of Pembrook, and others privately, to get the Earl of Richmond, and offered great Sums to the Duke of Brittaine. This gave new disturbance, and the King must now by the best meanes he could, renue his former suit to the Duke of Brittaine, for which employment, he intrusts Doctor *Stillington* Bishop of Bath, his Secretary, a man of a Wise, Learned, and Eloquent endeavour, of good acquaintance and credit with the Duke of Brittaine, who gave him an honourable and respective entertainement. The Bishop (after he had prepared him by the earnest of a very rich present) tenders the Summe of his Employment, not forgetting what he was now to Act, and what to promise on the Kings part. And (for a more glorious insinuation) tells him how the King had elected him into the noble Society of St. *Georges* Order (as the most honourable intimation he could give of his love;) to qualifie all exceptions too, and jealousies, assures him, the King had no intent to the Earle of Richmond, but what was answerable to his owne worth, and quality of the Kings Kinsman; having declared a propensity and purpose, to bestow one of his daughters upon him. The Duke well mollified and perswaded, delivered the Earle by a strong Guard to the Bishop at

K. E. 4. sends for Richmond.

Hist. de Brit.

D. *Stillington* sent for Richmond.

Saint

St. Maloes Port: a change of much passion and amazement to him, whose sufferings tooke hold upon the affable disposition of the Noble *Peir de Landois* Treasurer to the Duke, who had the Earle in Charge and Conduct, to St. Malo. He urges the cause from him of his so altered and present condition, with Protestation of all the aide he could: The Earle thus fairely and happily provoked (and perceiving the sparkles of his sorrow had hapt into a tender bosome) freely exposed himselfe, and with such an overcomming Countenance, of teares and sighes, framed his own Story, and prest *Landois*, that it so wrought upon his temper, he perswaded the Earle to put on clearer hopes, assures him there should some meanes be found to shift the Tempest; thereupon writes a sad Relation to the Duke, to move his compassion and favour, and knowing the Baron *Chandais*, (a great man in credit with him) well affected to the Earle by a long and reciprocall affection, he repaired to his house neare Saint Malo, and prevailed with him to use his power with the Duke, for returning the Earle; who posted to *Vanes*, where the Court was then, and tooke the Duke at such an advantage, by suggesting his credulity abused, and cunningly drawne into this contract by the King, that there was a Post dispatcht to stay the Earle. In that interim, *Landois* had not been Idle, to find a way to let the Earle escape into the Abbey Church of St. Malo, where he claimed the benefit of the holy Asyle, which was easily contrived, by corrupting his Keepers. But the Duke to stand cleare of the Kings suspition, sent over *Maurice Brumell* to satisfie him, that the Earle according to promise was sent to Saint Malo, there delivered to his servants deputed, whose negligence let him escape; and that he had demanded him of the Covent, who denyed to render him without security & caution; & that he should be continued a prisoner in *Vanes*, with as much courtesie as formerly. Now being it was falne into those strict and peremptory termes, and within the contumacie of such lawlesse persons, where he could not use power, he yet faithfully protested no suite from the French King, or any other, should draw him from his former promise: All which, he religiously performed, whilst King *Edward* lived, the space of twelve yeares (after *Phillip de Comines*) in which circle of time, it may with admiration be observed, through what changes and interchanges of hazards, dangers, and difficulties, he was preserved. Soone after King *Edwards* decease, King *Richard* renewed and continued the Treaty by Sir *Thomas Hutton* of Yorkeshire, receiving the same satisfaction in Answer, but was failed in the performance, and so dishonourably, that it then appeared, the Duke had kept in with *Edward*, more for feare, then for love or honour (the name of *Edward*, and the Earle of March, being (indeed) accounted terrible, where his victorious sword was drawne) which breach of the Dukes was not left unpunished (at least as that age then guessed) by a divine revenge; for having married *Margaret*, Daughter and Co-heire of *Francis de Mountford*, Duke of Brittaine, she dying without issue, he married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Gaston de Foix*, King of

K. R. reneweth suit to the D. of B. for the Earle of Richmond. E. 4. *Fulmen belli, ut Seleuc. Rex inde* κεραυνός, i. *fulmen dictus.*

Claud. Paradin

of Navarr, by whom he had one only daughter *Anne*, married to the French King, *Charles* 8. Thus Duke *Francis* dyed without issue male, the Dutchy being swallowed up, and drowned in the Lillies or Crapands of France, and with his Family of Brittaine irrecoverably lost and absorpted.

Thus much for the jealousie and feares of those two Kings, now to the progresse of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one generall dislike, and an universall negative voice, refused the sonnes of King *Edward*, not for any ill will or malice, but for their disabilities and incapacities; the opinions of those times too, held them not legitimate, and the Queene *Elizabeth Gray*, or *Woodvill*, no lawfull Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the Kings Wife, by reason of her extreame unequall quality. For these and other causes, the Barons and Prelates unanimously cast their Election upon the Protector, as the most worthiest, and neerest, by the experience of his owne deservings, and the strength of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of Buckingham to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the chiefe Lords,, and other grave and learned persons, having Audience granted in the great Chamber at Baynards Castle (then Yorke-house) thus addrest him to the Lord Protector.

B. *Mort.* Sir *Th Moore, Hollingshed, Grafton, Stow, Hall, Virgill, &c. Parliament.*

The Duke of Buck. to the L. Protector in the behalfe of the 3 Estates.

SIR, May it please your Grace to be informed, that after much grave Consultation amongst the Noble Barons, and other worthy persons of this Realme, it stands concluded and resolved, that the sons of King *Edward* shall not raigne; for who is not sensible, how miserable a fortune, and dangerous estate that Kingdome must be in, where a childe is King, according to the Wise man, *Væ tibi terra cujus Rex est Puer*. But here, Sir, there is exception of further consequence against them, That they were not borne in lawfull Marriage, the King having than another Wife living, Dame *Elizabeth Butler*. Besides, the great dishonour and reproach he received by disparaging his Royall bloud, with a woman so far unmeet for his bed. These Considerations have resolutely turned all their eyes, and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your singular vertues, and that interest in the Crownes of England and of France, with the Rights and Titles, by the high Authority of Parliament, entailed to the Royall bloud, and issue of *Richard* Duke of Yorke, whose lawfull begotten Sonne and heire you are; which by a just course of inheritance, and the Common Lawes of this Land, is divolv'd and come to you. And unwilling that any inferiour Bloud, should have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determined to make your Grace King; to which, with all willingnesse and alacrity, the Lords and people of the Northerne parts concurre. And the Maior, Aldermen, and Commons of this City of London, have all allowed, and gladly embraced this generall Choice of your Grace: and are come hither to beseech you to accept their just Election, of which they have chosen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I must therefore againe crave

The common published stories have *Eliz. Lucy*, but that is false.

leave

leave in the behalfe of all, to desire your Grace will be pleased, in your noble and gracious zeale to the good of this Realme, to cast your eyes upon the growing distresses and decay of our Estate, and to set your happy hand to the redresse thereof; for which, we can conceive no abler remedy, then by your undertaking the Crowne and Government, which we doubt not shall accrew to the laud of God, the profit of this Land, and your Graces happinesse.

This speech of the Duke is recorded by Doctor Morton, *Sir* Thomas Moore, *and other Chronicles and Historians, to which the Protector gave this reply:*

The Answer of the Lord Protector to the 3 Estates.

MY most noble Lords, and my most loving friends, and deare Country-men, Albeit I must confesse, your request most respective and favourable, and the points and necessities alledged and urged, true and certaine; yet for the entire love and reverend respect I owe to my Brother deceased, and to his Children, my Princely Cousens, you must give me leave, more to regard mine honour and fame in other Realmes; for where the truth and certaine proceedings herein are not knowne, it may be thought an ambition in me to seeke what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge so deep a reproach and staine upon my honour and sincerity, that I would not beare for the worlds Diademe. Besides, you must not thinke me ignorant (for I have well observed it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdome, then pleasure; especially to that Prince, who would use his Authority and Office as he ought. I must therefore desire, that this (and my unfained Protestations) may assure you, the Crowne was never my ayme, nor suits my desire with yours, in this; yet I shall thinke my selfe much beholding unto you all, in this Election of me, and that hearty love I find you beare me, and here protest, that for your sakes it shall be all one, whether I be your King or no; for I will serve my Nephew faithfully and carefully, with my best counsels and endeavours, to defend and preserve him and this Kingdome; nor shall there want readinesse in me, to attempt the recovery of that hereditary right in France, which belongs to the Kings of England, though of late negligently and unhappily lost. There the Protector became silent, and thought it not safe in his discretion, or policy, to open all the disgusts he had of the Soveraignty, for that would have been matter of Exprobation of the Barons, and toucht too neare the quicke, though he had well observed, by sundry experiences of the leading times, and moderne too, the inconstant ebbing and flowing of their dispositions, how variable and apt they were, to take up any occasion of change, pursuing their Kings (if once stirr'd) so implacably, that many times they never left without death or deposing. Examples he had in the Raignes of King *Edward* his Brother, and *Henry* the sixth; not long before that in the time of *Richard* the second, and his Grandfather *Edward* the second; more anciently the extreame troubles,

troubles and distresse of King *John*, and *Henry* the third, all by the Barons, being dreadfull warnings and insolent monuments of their haughtinesse and Levitie; and this was *Aliamente repostum* with the wise Prince.

But the Duke of Buckingham, thinking the Protector set too slight a consideration upon so great a Concernment, and the affection tender'd by himselfe and the Nobilitie (and over hearing something, he privately spake to the Lord Maior and Recorder, tending to his mislike) for an Epilogue or close to his former Oration, he thus freely addes.

The bold and round conclusion of the D. of Buck.

SIR, I must now, by the Priviledge of this Imployment, and in the behalfe of those and my Countrey, adde so much freedome unto my dutie, as to tell your Grace, It is immoveably resolved by the Barons and people, that the Children of King *Edward* shall not Reigne over them. Your Grace hath heard some causes; nor need I intimate, how these Estates have entred and proceeded so offensively to other men, and so dangerously to themselves, as is now too late to recall or retire. And therefore, they have fixt this Election upon you, whom they thinke most able and carefull for their safetie. But, if neither the generall good, the earnest Petitions of the Nobility and Commonalty, can move you, wee most humbly desire your Answer, and leave to Elect some other that may be worthy of the Imperiall Charge; in which, (wee hope) wee shall not incurre your displeasure, considering the desperate necessitie of our welfare and Kingdome, urges it. And this is our last Suit and Petition to your Grace.

The Protector toucht by this round and braving farewell, which made him very sensible: For (as Sir *Thomas Moore* disertly confesseth) the Protector was so much moved with these words, that otherwise of likelyhood he would never have inclined to their Suit: And saith, That when he saw there was no remedy, but he must either at that instant take the Crowne, or both he and his heires irrecoverably let it passe to another; paradventure, one that might prove an Enemy to him and his, especially if *Richmont* stept in; betwixt whom, and this Prince, the hatred was equally extreame: Therefore, it behoved the Protector to Collect himselfe; and fixing his Consideration upon the effect of that necessitie they last urged, gave this Reply:

The Protectors Reply to the Dukes last Suit.

MY most Noble good Lords, and most loving and faithfull friends, the better sense of your loves and most eminent inconveniencies insinuated by your Noble Speaker, hath made me more serious to apprehend the benefit of your proffer and Election. And I must confesse, in the meditation thereof, I find an alteration in my selfe, not without some distraction, when I consider all the Realme, so bent against

against the Sonnes of King *Edward*. And therefore being certaine, there is no man to whom the Crowne by just Title can be so due as to our selfe, the rightfull Sonne and Heire of our most deare and Princely Father, *Richard* Duke of Yorke; to which Title of blood and nature, your favours have joyned this of Election, wherein wee hold our selfe to be most strong and safe. And having the lawfull power of both, why should I endure my professed Enemy to usurpe my right, and become a Vassall to my envious Subject? The necessitie of these causes (as admitting no other remedy) urges me to accept your offer, and according to your request, and our owne right, we here assume the Regall Præheminence of the two Kingdoms, England and France, from this day forward, by us and our heires, to Govern and defend the one, and by Gods grace, and your good aydes to recover and establish the other, to the Ancient Allegeance of England; desiring of God to live no longer then wee intend and endeavour the advancement and flourishing Estate of this Kingdome; at which they all cry'd, *God save King Richard*: And thus he became King. But yet his Detractors stick not to slander and accuse all that was said or done in these proceedings of State for meer dissimulation; by which justice they may as well censure (*At sit Reverentia dictum*) all the Barons, worthy and grave Commons, which had their Votes therein, which would fall a most impudent and intolerable Scandall upon all the High Court of Parliament; for in short time after, all that was alledged and acted in that Treatie and Colloquy was approved, and ratified by the Court of Parliament, so that their Cavills onely discover an extreame malice and envy. For it was not possible, therefore not credible, he could upon such an instant (as it were) by any practice, attaine to that power and credit, with all the Barons, Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons, to procure and perswade them from the Sonnes of King *Edward*, so unanimously to become his Subjects, and put the Crowne upon his head with such Solemnitie and publicke Ceremonies. Whilst those matters had their current, the Northerne Gentlemen and his Southerne Friends joyned in a Bill Supplicatory to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, earnestly expressing their desires for the Election of the Lord Protector, with the former causes urged; Also, that the blood of the young Earle of Warwicke was attainted, and his Title confiscate by Parliament. This Bill was delivered to the Lords, Assembled in the great Hall at Westminster, the Lord Protector sitting in the Chaire of Marble amongst them, upon the 26 of June, some six or seven dayes after he was Proclaimed; the tenor of the Bill was thus written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland.

Lib. Abb. Croyl.

Protector eodem die, quo Regimen sub titulo regii nominis sibi vendicavit (viz) 26° *die Junii, Anno Dom.* 1483. *se apud Magnam Aulam Westmonasterii in Cathedram Marmoream*

Imi-

Immiſit & tum mox omnibus proceribus tam Laicis quam Eccleſiaſticis & Ceteris aſſidentibus, aſtantibus &c. oſtendebatur rotulus quidam, in quo per modum ſupplicationis in nomine procerum & populi Borealis exhibita ſunt, Primum, quod filii Regis Edwardi *erant Baſtardi, ſupponendo, illum præcontraxiſſe matrimonium cum quadam Domina* Elianora Botelet, *antequam Reginam* Elizabetham *duxiſſet in uxorem: deinde quod ſanguis alterius Fratris* (Georgii *Scil: Clarenſis ducis*) *fuiſſet Attinctus. Ita quod nullus certus incorruptus ſanguis Linealis ex parte* Richardi *Ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, niſi in perſona* Richardi *Protectoris, Ducis Gloceſtriæ, & jam eidem Duci ſupplicabant, ut jus ſuum in Regno Anglia ſibi aſſumeret & Coronam acciperet.*

But the Barons were all accorded before this Bill came, both ſides moving with an equall and contented forwardneſſe; And in July next following 1483. was Crown'd and receiv'd, with as generall Magnificence and Acclamations, as any King in England many years before. For as a grave man writeth, (*Fuit dignißimus regno &c. non inter malos ſed bonos principes Commemorandus*; That he was moſt worthy to Reigne, and to be numbred amongſt the good, not bad Princes. The Queene his Wife was Crowned with him, and with no leſſe State and Greatneſſe; Accompanied him from the Tower to Weſtminſter, having in their Traine, (beſides the Nobilitie of the South parts) foure thouſand Gentlemen of the North. Upon the 19. of June 1483. in the 25. yeare of *Lewis* the French King, he was named King of England, the morrow Proclaimed, and rode with great Solemnitie from London to Weſtminſter, where in the ſeat Royall, he gave the Judges of the Land a ſtrickt and religious charge for the juſt executing of the Lawes; then departed towards the Abbey, being met at the Church doore with Proceſſion, and the Scepter of King *Edward* delivered to him by the Abbot; ſo Aſcended to Saint *Edwards* Shrine, where he offered; the Monks in the meane time ſinging *Te Deum*: From thence he return'd to the Palace, where he lodged untill his Coronation.

cambden.

Upon the fourth of July he went to the Tower by water with the Queene his Wife, and the next day, Created *Edward* his onely Son, (about ten yeares old) Prince of Wales: He Inveſted Sir *Iohn Howard* (who was made Lord *Howard*, and Knight of the Garter, 17. *Edward* 4.) in the Dukedome of Norffolke, in a favourable admiſſion of the right of the Lady *Margaret* his Mother, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of Norffolke, and an heire generall of the *Mowbrayes*, Dukes of Norffolke, and Earles of Surrey, deſcended from the Lord *Tho. Plantagenet* of Brotherton, a younger Sonne of King

Monſtrolet. Comines. Anglici ſcriptores.

Stile of the D. of Norff. *In rotulis in domo converſ.*

King *Edward* the firſt, and Earle of Norffolke. This King alſo made him Marſhall and Admirall of England; he was as rightfully Lord *Mowbray*, Lord *Segrave*, Lord *Bruce*, as Lord *Howard*, as I have ſeene him Stiled by Royall Warrant, in a Commiſſion for Treatie of Truce with *Scotland*.

His eldeſt Sonne, Sir *Thomas Howard*, was at the ſame time Created Earle of Surrey, and made Knight of the Garter; *Henry Stafford*, Duke of Buckingham, was made Conſtable of England for terme of life, but he claimed the Office by inheritance.

Sir *Thomas Moore* writes, That Sir *Thomas Howard* Executed the Office of Conſtable that day; *William* Lord *Berkley* was Created Earle of Nottingham, *Francis Lovel* Viſcount *Lovel*, and Chamberlain to the King; the Lord *Stanley* reſtor'd to liberty and made Steward of the Houſhold, *Thomas Rotheram* Chancellour and Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, having beene committed for delivering the Great Seale to the Queene Widow, receiv'd to grace, and many Knights Addubbed of the old Order, and ſome of the new, or habit of the Bath, whoſe names I have ſet downe, to ſhew what regard was had of their Family, and in thoſe times accuſed of ſo much Malignity.

Sir *Edward De-la-Poole*, Sonne to the Duke of Norfolke.

George Gray, Sonne to the Earle of Kent.

William Souch, Sonne to the Lord *Souch*.

Henry Nevil, Sonne to the Lord Abergaveny,

Chriſtopher Willowby. *Thomas Arundel.*

Henry Bainton. *Gervoiſe* of Clifton.

Thomas Bullen. *Edmond Beddingfield.*

William Say. *Tho. Leukenor.*

William Enderby. *John Browne.*

Thomas of *Vernon.* *William Berkley.*

William Bankley. 1. Another *Berkley.*

The fift day of July he rode from the Tower through the City in Pompe, with his Sonne the Prince of Wales, three Dukes, and nine Earles, twentie two Viſcounts and ſimple Barons, eighty Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen, not to be numbred, beſides great Officers of the Crowne which had ſpeciall ſervice to doe. But the Duke of Buckingham carried the Splendour of that dayes Bravery, his habit and Capariſons of blew Velvet, imbroidered with golden Naves of Carts burning, the trappings ſupported by Foot-men habited coſtly and ſutable. On the morrow, being the ſixt of July, all the Prelates Miter'd in their Pontificalibus, receiv'd him at Weſtminſter-Hall towards the Chappell; the Biſhop of Rocheſter bare

the Crosse before him, the Cardinall and the Earle of Huntington followed with a pair of guilt Spurres, and the Earle of Bedford with Saint *Edwards* Staffe for a Relique. After the Precession, the Earle of Northumberland beares a poyntlesse Sword naked, the Lord *Stanley*, the Mace of the Constableship (but waited not for Constable) the Earle of Kent bare the second Sword naked with a poynt, upon the right hand of the King, the Viscount *Lovel* another Sword on the Kings left hand with a poynt. Next came the Duke of Suffolke with the Scepter, the Earl of Lincoln with the Ball and Crosse, then the Earle of Surry with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard, in place of the Constable of England, the Duke of Norfolke on his right hand with the Crowne: After him immediately, the King in a Sur Coat and Robe of Purple, the Canopy borne by the Barons of the five Ports, the King betweene the Bishop of Bath and Durham, the Duke of Buckingham bearing up his Traine, and served with a white Staffe for Seneshall, or High Steward of England.

Signifying mercy.

Signifying Iustice to the Temporalty. Iustice to the Clergy. Peace. Monarchy.

In the Front of the Queenes Traine, the Earle of Huntington bare the Scepter, Viscount *Liste* the Rod with the Dove, the Earle of Wiltshire her Crowne, and next to him followed the Queene her selfe (in Robes like the King) betweene two Bishops, the Canopy borne by Barons of the Ports, upon her head a Coronet set with precious Stones, the Lady *Margaret* Somerset, Countesse of Richmond, carried up her Traine, followed by the Dutchesse of Suffolke, with many Countesses, Baronesses, and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Procession passed through the Palace, and entred the West doore of the Abbey, the King and Queene taking their seats of State, stayed untill divers holy Hymnes were sung, then ascended to the high Altar shifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voyded in sundry places for their Anoynting; which done, they tooke other Robes of Cloth of Gold, so returned to their seats, where the Cardinall of Canterbury and the other Bishops, Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter in the left hand of the King, the Ball and Crosse in his right, and the Queenes Scepter in her right hand, and the Rod with the Dove in her left; on each hand of the King stood a Duke, before him the Earle of Surrey, with the Sword as aforesaid; on each hand of the Queene stood a Bishop, by them a Lady kneeling; the Cardinall said Masse and gave the Pax; then the King and Queene descending were both housled with one host parted betweene them at the high Altar: This done, they offered at Saint *Edwards* Shrine, where the King layd downe Saint *Edwards* Crowne & put on another, so returned to Westminster-Hal in the same State they came, there dispersed, and retired themselves for a season. In which interim, came the Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, mounted upon a brave Horse, trapped with Cloth of Gold downe to the ground, to submove the presse of people and void the Hall. About foure of the clocke the King and Queene sat to Dinner; the King at the middle Table of the Hall, and the Queene on his left

hand;

hand; on each ſide a Counteſſe attending her, holding a Cloth of Plaiſance (or rather of Eſſuyance) for her Cup: On the Kings right hand ſate the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, and all the Ladies were placed on one ſide of a long Table in the middle of the hall againſt them, at another Table, the Lord Chancellour, and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Maior of London and the Aldermen.

Behind the Barons of the Kingdome ſate the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for perſons of qualitie. After all were ſeated, came the Lord Marſhall againe, the Earle of Surrey Conſtable (*Pro illa vice tantum*) the Lord *Stanley* Lord *Steward*, Sir *William Hopton* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* Controler, they ſerved the Kings boord with one diſh of Gold and another of Silver. The Queene was ſerved all in guilt Veſſells, and the Cardinall Arch-Biſhop in Silver Diſhes.

As ſoone as the ſecond courſe was ſerved in, Sir *Robert Dimock* the Kings Champion makes Proclamation, That whoſoever would ſay, King *Richard* the third was not lawfully King, he would fight with him at all gutterance, and for gage thereof threw downe his Gauntlet, then all the people cryed, *King Richard, God ſave King Richard*; And this he acted in three ſeverall parts of the Hall, then an Officer of the Cellar brought him a guilded Bowle with Wine which he dranke, and carries the Cup away as his ancient Fee. After that, the Heralds cryed *Largeſſe* thrice, and returned to the Scaffold. Laſtly came the Maior of London with the Sheriffs, with a Voyder, ſerving the King and Queene with ſweet Wines, who had each of them a covered Cup of Gold for reward: By which time, the day began to give way to the night, the King and Queene departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a briefe and true Relation of his Coronation, teſtified by all the beſt Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, publicke and allowed, which may confute the boldneſſe of that ſlander that ſayes, he was not rightfully, and Authentically Crowned, but obſcurely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all times have Detractors, and all Courts their Paraſits, and many that have admired Princes to their graves, even there have turn'd from them, with ingratitude and murmur. Soone after this the King diſmiſſed, and ſent home all the Lords, Spirituall and Temporall, with a ſtraight charge and direction to them, the Judges of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, with all other Magiſtrates and Officers in generall and particular, for the Equitable and juſt Government of their Juriſdictions and Circuits. And it is obſerved, thoſe times were under as happy an expectation of Law and Juſtice, as thoſe, either before or after more flatter'd; which *John Hide* (a Learned man, and Doctor of Phyſick) implyes in a Manuſcript Poeſy of his.

Moore. Graſton. Polidore. Hall. Croyland. Hollingſhed. Stow, &c.

——Solio juris rectiq; Miniſter,
Ille ſedens alto, tali ſermone profatur;
Moſes concilio ſoceri perſuaſus Iethro,
Solus quod Populi nequijt componere lites,
Conſtituit populi præfectos atq; tribunos;
Sic cum me præcelſa premant faſtigia Regni,
Ardua magnarum teneatis munera rerum;
Et primùm, à vobis pravos ſecludite motus
Æquis Juſtitiæ trutinis appendite cauſas;
Ob paupertatem miſeros ne ſpernite cives,
Nec vota in caſſum fundat pupillus in auras,
Deniq; largitio, nè vos Corrumpat iniqua, &c.

All things thus in a happy preſage and good order, the King with the Queene departed from London, and makes Windſor the firſt giſt in his Progreſſe for ſome few dayes: From thence to his Mannor of Woodſtock, then to the Univerſitie of Oxford, where the Muſes Crown'd their browes with fragrant Wreathes for his entertainment. Next he viſited the circular Citie of Gloceſter, and gave the Citizens, (for the love and loyaltie they expreſt, in holding the Caſtle and Towne ſo conſtantly againſt Queene *Margaret* and the forces of *Henry* the ſixt, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of Buckingham takes his leave for Brecknock, conſtantly diſpoſed and affected in all outward appearance. The King making ſmall ſtay any where, (ſave at Coventry) untill he came to the goodly and ancient Citie of Yorke, the ſcope and goale of his Progreſſe, which receiv'd him with all honour and Feſtivitie, and was there the ſecond time Crowned by Dr. *Rotheram* Arch-Biſhop of that Sea, in the Cathedrall Church, and his Sonne inveſted in the Principalitie of Wales, as the Prior of Croyland reporteth; *Eodem die quo* Richardus *Coronatus eſt Rex in Eccleſia Metropolitana Eboracenſi, mox filium* Edwardum *in Principatum Walliæ cum inſignijs virgæ aureæ &c. evexit & Pompoſa & ſumptuoſa feſta & convivia ibi fecit.*

And indeed, it was a day of great ſtate; for (as *Polidore* ſaith) There was then three Princes in Yorke wearing Crownes, the King, Queene, and Prince; In acclamation whereof, there was Stage-Playes, Turneaments, and other Triumphall Sports, as Sir *Thomas Moore* relates. At this time the King Knighted *Richard* of Gloceſter his baſe ſonne, who was after Captaine of *Calice*, and many Gentlemen of thoſe parts. But (albeit this was an intermiſſion as it were of all buſie and ſerious agitations) yet the King, ſtill where he travall'd had a juſt regard to the Adminiſtration and Execution of Juſtice and the more facinerous Malefactors: And ſurely theſe reſpective inclinations of his had their ſolemn affections and deſires Naturalized

Chron. *M.S.* in Quar. *apud.* D. *Ro. Cotton*, and *Rob. Fabian.* *Rich.* the Baſtard of the D. of Gloc. Captaine of Calice.

ralized in him, witneſſed by the ſcope and integritie of thoſe juſt Lawes which after followed.

The Progreſſe thus ſpent, he returnes to London; and having conſulted ſome matters of State, declares his firſt reſolution for the Tribute detain'd by France, which he had formerly by a friendly Meſſage demanded, but now ſends ſtout menaces and threats for it. The French would not have it cal'd a Tribute, but a Penſion, as *Philip de Comines* inſinuates, though it had beene rays'd and payd to King *Edward* the fourth, in lieu of the Dutchy and Countries of Aquitaine, Normandy, Poictou, and Maine, &c. whereof the the French had deſeis'd the Crowne of England, which King *Edward* the fourth forced *Lewis* to acknowledge, and to Covenant and agree, That he, his heires and Succeſſors, ſhould pay unto the Crowne of England, the ſumme of fiftie thouſand Crowns, with caution and ſecuritie to be payd in the Citie of London, or after *Iean Tillet* and *Iohn Maierus*, ſeventy five thouſand Crowns to be payd into the Tower; with which the French King alſo granted, in the name of Annuall Penſion, ſixteen thouſand pounds to ſome Noblemen and others of ſpeciall credit with the King: As to Sir *Thomas Gray*, Marqueſſe of Dorſet, *William* Lord *Haſtings*, Chamberlaine to the King, Doctor *Thomas Rotheram*, Biſhop of Lincolne, and Lord Chancellour of England; *Iohn* Lord *Howard*, Sir *Iohn Cheyney*, Maſter of the Horſe; Sir *Thomas Mountgomery*, Maſter *Challoner*, and to the Maſter of the Rowles; The chiefeſt of theſe had two thouſand Crownes apiece *per annum*. Beſides which Penſions, he gave rich Preſents, and ſent rewards to ſuch Lords as ſtood moſt for this accord. *Eugueraunt de Monſtrolet* avoucheth, that the Lord *Howard*, and the Maſter of the Horſe, were the chiefeſt of the mediators in it; his reaſon is, that they were the men moſt in favour with King *Edward*. *Iean Tillet*, with *Philip de Comines*, tells us, the Lord *Howard* in leſſe then two yeares had the value of twentie foure thouſand Crownes in Plate, Coine and Jewels, over and above his Annuall Penſion; the Lord *Haſtings* at one time to the value of two thouſand markes in Plate, beſides his Penſion. And if their owne Stories ſpeake truth, *Richard de Nevil*, the great Earle of Warwick, had of the Kings of France much more then any other Engliſh Nobleman, which the Chronicle of Brittaine ſeconds. And doubtleſſe, King *Richard* had ſtill compel'd him to continue it, had not eruptions of State and tumultuary practiſes fatally deterr'd his Sword: For as Kings have vaſter limits, they have higher bounds then others. If our vulgar paths be rugged, theirs are ſlippery, and all their mighty reſolutions and ambitions have their fate and circle, hither they muſt, and no further; yet as envious as fortune ſhew'd her ſelfe, he brought King *Lewis* to termes of faire promiſes and mediation for time of payment, as *Comines* obſcurely implyes.

Iohn Maierus. Iean Tillet. du Tillet ſaith, That this tribute or Penſion was 75000 crowns, or, *Eſcu's & chacun Eſcu vallant. trois ſouls.*

This yeare the King kept a very magnificent Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, and was reconciled to the Queene Dowager, who left Sanctuary, and to congratulate the Kings favour, ſent her five daughters to Court,

The Q. Mother & King *Rich.* reconciled.

Court, where they were received with all Princely kindneſſe.

On the three and twentieth day of January, in the firſt yeare of his Raigne, he ſummon'd a Parliament to be holden at Weſtminſter, in which (after the enacting of many good Lawes) the marriages of King *Edward* were debated, that with the Lady *Gray* adjudged unlawfull, and her children illegitimate, there being proofe of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady *Elianor Talbot*, daugher of the old Earle of Shrewsbury, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of Sudely, then and long after living, and all that had been inferred by the Duke of Buckingham, or contained in the Bill ſupplicatory, demonſtrated, was againe conſulted, and judgement given againſt that Marriage, and incapacity of the Children alſo, of the Earle of Warwicke and his ſiſter, the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, all decreed and confirmed by Act of Parliament; ſo that here to taxe ſo generall an Aſſent, were to ſay there was not one honeſt nor juſt man in that High Court, and what greater ſcandall to the whole Kingdome?

The Parliament of *R.* 3.

There was likewiſe notice taken of the Earle of Richmonds pretence to the Crowne, by a Title derived from the Houſe of Lancaſter, who was at that time in France, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of Brittaine in the quarrell. Oh the infinite windings, and perplexed ſleepes we labour through, to get that we muſt bid goodnight to to morrow; And yet the true and rightful Lancaſter had no finger in it, for this Earle was not then granted to be of the Houſe of Lancaſter, untill the Pope by his Bull had given him that ſtile, and himſelfe (after he was King) by his Prerogative aſſumed it. In this Parliament he was attainted of High Treaſon, and with him *Iohn* Earle of Oxford, *Thomas* Marqueſſe of Dorſet, *Iaſper* Earle of Pembroke, *Lionell* Biſhop of Salisbury, *Peirce* Biſhop of Exceter, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of Richmond, *Thomas Morton* Biſhop of Ely, *Thomas Naudick* by the ſtile of *Thomas Naudick* of Cambridge Conjurer, *William Knevet* of Buckingham ſmeared with the ſame pitch, *George Browne* of Beechworth, *Thomas Lukenor* of Tratton, *Iohn Guilford*, *Iohn Fogg*, *Edward Poinings*, *Thomas Fieries* of Cherſtmonceur, *Nicholas Gainsford*, *William Clifford*, *Iohn Darrell*, with others of Kent and the Weſt Countrey. There was further enacted for the approbation and confirming the true and lawfull Title of King *Richard*, this clauſe or ſentence.

The friends & confederates of the E. of Rich.

It is declared, pronounced, decreed, confirmed and eſtabliſhed by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that King *Richard* the third is the true and undoubted King of this Realme, as well by right of Conſanguinitie and Heritage, as by lawfull Election and Coronation, &c. And in a place of the Rowle of this Parliament, there are Arguments to be gathered, that the two ſonnes of King *Edward* were living in the time of this Parliament, which was at the leaſt nine moneths after the death of their Father, and ſixe moneths after King *Richard*; which will import thus much, That if King *Richard* then, lawfully and quietly poſſeſſed of the Crowne, ſuffered them to live ſo long,

The ſons of K. E. living in Jan & Febr. after the death of their Father.

long, there is no reason why, he should after make them away, for their lives could not rectifie their Bloud, or Titles, nor their deaths advantage him, neither can Bastards be dangerous, or prejudiciall to the true and titular Lord, or lawfull proprietary, be he Prince or Subject; Witnesse Forraigne Countries, and England it selfe, which holds Bastards uncapable of Heritage, Honour or Offices: In the Month of February, towards the end of this Parliament, the King in his providence to establish the Regall fortune and Succession in the Prince his Sonne, and to fasten the affection of the Nobility and People unto him with the Crowne, procures them to meet him in the Pallace at Westminster, and there (*Interiori Cænaculo*, as mine Author saith) tendred by the Duke of Norfolke unto them, an Oath of Fealty and Allegeance in writing, to be taken to the Prince of Wales; which they tooke and subscribed most willingly; the occasion of this, was his jealousie of that new League struck up between the Earle of Richmond and the Duke of Buckingham, who was now discovered more apparantly, and the rest of the engagement: To oppose and suppresse them therefore, and stifle the Confederacy before it should grow more threatning; The King makes a Commission by Letters Patents, in the name of the Vice Constable of England, unto Sir *Ralph Ashton*, A Coppy whereof (the President being unusuall, and the Office great) I have Transcribed verbatim from the Records in the Chappell of the Convertits.

Vice Constable of England.

Vice-Constabulario Angliæ Constituto.

REX dilecto & fideli suo, Rudolpho Ashton militi, salutem. Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitate, circumspectione, & probitate, vestra plenius confidentes, assignavimus deputavimus & ordinavimus vos hac vice Constabularium nostrum Angliæ, ac Commissionarium nostrum, dantes & concedentes vobis tenore presentium potestatem & authoritatem generalem, & mandatum speciale, ad audiendum & examinandum ac procedendum, contra quascunque personas de crimine læsæ nostræ regiæ majestatis suspectas & culpabiles tam per viam examinationis testium quam aliter prout vobis melius visum fuerit ex officio vestro; nec non in causis illis judicialiter & sententialiter juxta casus exigentiam & delinquentium demerita omni strepitu & futura Iudicij appellatione quacunque remota, quandocunque vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum et finali executione demandandum cum omnibus etiam clausulis, verbis, et terminis specialibus

Patents de anno 1 Rich 3. part. 1. mem. 2.

cialibus ad executionem istius mandati et authoritatis nostræ de jure vel consuetudine requisitis, quæ etiam omnia hic expressa habemus, assumpto vobiscum aliquo tabellione fide digno, qui singula conscribat una cum alijs quæ in præmissis vel circa ea necessaria videbuntur seu qualitercunque requisita; mandantes & firmiter vobis injungentes, quod alijs quibuscunque prætermissis circa prædicta quoties & quando opus fuerit intendatis, causasque antedictas audiatis, examinetis, & in eisdem procedatis ac eas judicetis & finali executione ut præfertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus & singulis quorum interest in hac parte tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in præmissis faciendis pareant, assistant & auxilientur in omnibus diligenter, in cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Covent. 24. die Octobris, Anno regni primo; per ipsum Regem ore tenus.

What successe this Commission, and new Office had, I find not reported, but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the faction lost none they could corrupt or winne; yet surely, the institution of it was very politicke and important, as a plaine Image and pourtraict, of the Office and Authority of the great or High-Constable of England, which in the execution of a wise and valiant person, is of a high and great use.

Other Officers of King *Richard* 3.

Having made mention of these Offices, it shall not be a Parergue, between these Acts, to interadde the rest of this Kings Officers, both Chiefe and others; at the least such as were of Honour or Dignity: I have before named the High-Constable, the great Marshall, high Admirall, Lord Chamberlaine, the rest were Sir *Iohn Wood* the Elder, L. Treasurer the first yeare, and Sir *Iohn Touchet*, Lord *Audley* during the rest of his Reigne, Doctor *Russell* Bishop of Lincolne had the great Seale, *Thomas Barrow* was Master of the Rowles, (which place *Henry* the seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Counsellour) *Iohn Kendall* was principall Secretary, Sir *William Hopton* Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir *Thomas Peircy* Controler, after him Sir *John Buck*, *Iohn Gunthorpe* Keeper of the Privy Seale, Sir *William Hussey* Chiefe Justice, *Thomas Tremaine* and *Roger Townsend* the Kings Serjeants, *Morgan Kidwell* Attorney Generall, *Nicholas Fitz-William* Recorder of London.

Treaties for League and commerce with Flanders, &c. *In Thesauro Scaccarij* 1 R. 3.

For matters of Treaty, betwixt this King and Forreigne Princes, I have seen a memoriall of one, for intercourse and commerce, between him and *Philip* Duke of Burgundy, and the Estates of Flanders, who in the Record are called *Membra Flandriæ*: These Princes and States had each of them their Commissioners to treate and determine the Affaires, which I find they dispatcht with approbation of the Princes their Masters.

There

There was alſo a Commiſſion about theſe times, to heare and redreſſe the complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of France and of Denmarke, which was well expedited.

In Rowles *An.* 1 *R.* 3.

Anno Regni 2. That Treatie of Peace and League with Scotland, (began before) was continued, and finiſhed by Commiſſioners ſent from *Iames* the fourth King of Scotland, and by other Commiſſioners delegate for the King of England; thoſe for Scotland, were *Coli:* Earl of Argile, Chancellor of Scotland, *N.* Biſhop of Aberdene, the Lord *Liſle*, the Lord *Dromonde* of Stobhall, Maſter *Archibald Quhitlaw*, Arch-Deacon of Lodion, & Secretary to the King, *Lion* King at Arms and *Duncan* of Dundas; they came to Nottingham in September *Anno Domini* 1484, and were honourably receiv'd in the great Chamber of the Caſtle, the King ſitting under his Royall Cloth of State; Maſter *Archibald Quhitlaw* ſtepping before the reſt, addreſt a very Eloquent Oration unto him in Latine, which reflected upon the praiſe of Martial men & Art Military, including much to the honour and praiſe of King *Richard.* This Treatie aimed partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage, betweene *Iames* the Prince of Scotland and the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *Iohn de la Poole*, Duke of Suffolke, and Neice to King *Richard.*

An. Dom. 1484.

Argile in Record.

Commiſſioners for the King of England, were *Iohn* Biſhop of Lincolne, *Richard* Biſhop of Aſaph, *Iohn* Duke of Norfolke, *Henry* Earle of Northumberland, Maſter *Iohn Gunthorpe cuſtos privati ſigilli*, Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Lord *Stanley*, Sir *N.* Lord *Strange*, Sir *N.* Lord *Powis*, Sir *Henry* Lord *Fitz-hugh*, Sir *Humphry* Lord *Dacres*, Maſter *Thomas Barrow* Maſter of the Rowles, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Catesby*, and *Richard Salkeld*: The other for the Treatie of Alliance and Marriage, were *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of Yorke, *Iohn* Biſhop of Lincolne, *Iohn* Biſhop of Worceſter, *Iohn* Duke of Norfolke, *William* Earle of Nottingham, *Iohn Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *N.* Lord *Scroope* of Upſall, Sir *William Huſſey*, Chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench; Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and *William Catesby*: But the ſucceſſe of that, and many other good intendments, were interpoſed by the inconſtancy and contraſte of the times. The Lady *Anne de la Poole*, upon the the breach thereof, (reſolving to accept no other motion) forthwith tooke a religious habit in the Monaſtery of *Sion.*

The Lady *Anne de la Poole* a Nun.

There was another Treatie of Peace and Truce in this ſecond yeare, betweene him and the Duke of Brittaine, or at the leaſt given out for peace, yet was indeed but a part and pretext of the Treatie: for the maine negotiations on the Kings ſide, was, how to get the Earle of Richmond out of his cuſtody into his owne, or be as well ſecured of him there as his Brother King *Edward* was: And for this Treatie, the chiefe Negotiators, were the Biſhop of Lincolne and Sir *Thomas Huſton* for the King, the Biſhop of Leon and others for the Duke. The Treatie began *Anno Domini* 1484. and was finiſhed and ratified in the yeare following, but the Duke violated his part immediately by giving ayde to the Kings Enemies.

Treary with the Duke of Brittaine.

Ib. in Stacear.

In the ſame yeare there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treaſury of the Exchequor) that moved a Peace and Truce betweene King *Richard*, and *Charles* the eighth King of France; wherein it muſt be underſtood, the tribute before mentioned was Articled.

Treatie with the King of France.

Alſo in this yeare, and the yeare before, there was a private Treatie, which we muſt not paſſe by, for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with King *Richard* himſelfe: what the ſucceſſe of it was, and how farre it proceeded, will more aptly preſent it ſelfe in another place.

Treaty of marriage of King *Rich.* with the Lady *Eliz.*

Wee are now to take notice of the Duke of Buckinghams revolt, for this was the preparative and fourrier of the reſt: And to give it the more taking feature and ſpecious pretence, it muſt be given out, That the cauſe was the Reformation of an ill Government and Tyranny, under which ſpecies, (for Treaſon is ever fairely palliated, and ſeldome wants the forme of ſome plea, though at the Barre) they muſt take up Armes againſt the King. And here (as ſome Rivers deriv'd from the Sea, cannot ſuddenly looſe their taſte of ſaltneſſe) they diſcovered their ancient taint and inconſtancy which the Prince wiſely ſuſpected from the firſt. For the Duke of Buckingham (how affably ſoever he trim'd his countenance) it ſhould ſeeme departed [illegible]-content from Court, yet made not that generall publick pre[illegible]ded cauſe of the Kings Crimes all his quarrell, but challenged him by ſome private grudges, as denying to give or reſtore to him the Earledome of Hereford, and Conſtableſhip of England, (for they went together a long time) which he alledged belonged to the Partage that fell to his great Grand-mother the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heire of *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *Woodſtock*, created by King *Richard* the ſecond Duke of Gloceſter, and Earle of Buckingham, and of his Wife *Elianor*, daughter and co-heire of *Humphry de Bohun* Earle of Hereford, and Conſtable of England: Which claime, had he conſiderately look't upon, could not rightly revolve to him, but rather was for the Kings part; For *Humphry de Bohun*, Earle of Hereford, of Eſſex and Northampton, Lord of Brecknock, and Conſtable of England (in the time of King *Edward* the third, and the laſt Earle of the Family of the *Bohuns*) had by the Lady *Iane* his Wife, Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Allan* Earle of Arundel, two Daughters and Heires, *Elianor* and *Mary*: *Elianor* was Married to the ſame *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *de Woodſtock*, youngeſt Sonne of King *Edward* the third, Duke of Gloceſter and Earle of Buckingham: *Mary* the ſecond Daughter was Married to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of Lancaſter, and after King of England by the name of *Henry* the fourth, and the Earledome of Hereford fell to his Wife: In favour whereof, he was Created Duke of Hereford by King *Richard* the ſecond, and the Earledome (now a Dutchy) and the rights therof, remained in the King, and in the Kings Heires and Succeſſors untill the death of King *Henry* the ſixt, who dyed without Iſſue, & then all the Eſtate

Revolt of the D. of Buck.

The Duke of Buckingham firſt riſeth in Rebellion.

The quarrell of the Duke of Buck. againſt the King.

The Title of the Earldome of Hereford, & of the Conſtableſhip of England.

of

of Lancaſter (eſpecially that of the Royall Family of Lancaſter) eſcheated to King *Edward* the fourth, and from him it came to King *Richard*, as Heire to his Brother and all his Anceſtors. But the Duke of Buckingham pretended Title to that Earledome by his ſaid Grandmother *Anne*, who was one of the Daughters and Heires of the aforeſaid Lady *Elianor* (Wife of *Thomas de Woodſtock* Duke of Gloceſter) and the Wife of *Edmond Stafford* Earle of Stafford, and Grand-father to this *Henry* Duke of Buckingham, who the rather preſumed to make this Claime, becauſe the Iſſue of the other Siſter *Mary*, being extinct, he tooke himſelfe alſo to be her Heire.

But King *Richard* reliſhing ſomething in this, neare the diſpoſition and inclination of Bullingbrooke, anſwered, That the Earledome of Hereford was of the inheritance of *Henry* the fourth, who was alſo King of England (though by tort and uſurpation) and will you my Lord of Buckingham Claime to be Heire of *Henry* the fourth? You may then alſo happily Aſſume his ſpirits, and lay Claime to the Crowne by the ſame Titles.

This was as bitter as ſhort, and doubly ill taken: Firſt, becauſe it came with a Repulſe: Next, becauſe it ſeemed to proceed from a ſuſpition, and as a tax of his Loyaltie, and begets another pretence of exception in the Dukes boſome, which he called a breach of promiſe in the King, for not joyning the Prince his Sonne in Marriage with the Lady *Anne Stafford* his Daughter; but all thoſe Colours were but to give complexion to the face of his defection, the true cauſe was well devined and found out by the King, his Ambition and aime to be Soveraigne, rays'd by an overweening of that Royall Blood he ſuppoſed to be in his deſcent from the ſaid *Thomas de Woodſtock*, &c. Sonne of a King; and yet he was not reſolutely determined to make his Claime to the Crowne this way, nor to attempt the Kingdome by Armes, untill thoſe embers which (as it were) lay but luke-warme in his thoughts, were quickned and revived by the animation of Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of Ely then a Privie Counſellour though he ſtood in ſome umbrage and diſgrace in the Court with the King, for his practiſes againſt him, and was at this time in the cuſtody of the Duke of Buckingham as a Priſoner; more expreſſely, for that being a Privie Counſellour, he had given ſecret advertiſement to the Earle of Richmond of what paſſed in the ſecret Councells of the King; To this advantage, he applyes that which he had wittily drawne from the Dukes diſcontent and paſſionate diſcourſes at times paſſed. By which, perceiving the glance of his Ambition, and that deriv'd from the great opinion of his Royall Blood, he pregnantly tickles and feeds that humour, untill he had ſoothed him paſt his owne ſtrength or retyrement; for his ſecret drift was, to apt and prepare the Duke to a Rebellion at any hand, though not to ſet his owne Title on foot, yet layes open the advantage of the preſent times to it, propoſing flat uſurpation and tyranny againſt the King Regnant, and the ſtrong likelyhood of his Depoſing. This lifts the Duke ſomething higher in his

owne opinion. But comming to a pauſe, (and perceiving *Richmond* was the man they had aimed at for this great blow (who had conditioned by Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, (for the Counteſſe of Richmond, had by the meanes of Doctor *Lewis*, conciliated the friendſhip of the Queene Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the Houſe of Yorke into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many Potent Lords and ſome Forraigne Princes had promiſed their ayds) he began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong path to his journyes end, for his Title and Claime muſt be nothing, if thoſe of Yorke and Lancaſter were united: And that the Earle (who ſtood betweene him and his Aimes) was not onely reſolute to attempt, but ſtrongly ayded for it, himſelfe not able upon ſuch an inſtant to raiſe a power able to encounter, much leſſe give check unto his violent Ambition, therefore concludes all againſt himſelfe, and that it would fall out farre better to ſide with the times; a conſideration which doubtleſſe would highly ſtirre a ſpirit where ſo much greatneſſe of opinion and ambition was. And the Doctor diſcerning this diſguſt, and that he was ſtartl'd in his hope and reſolution, to recover him an intire man, & not let him ſtand by, an idle ſpectator in ſo meritorious an action, he opens a private way of honour and ſatisfaction, ſuggeſting him the firſt and greateſt man, the Kingdome was to know next the King: And finding his particular diſtaſts to King *Richard*, of quickeſt ſenſe and argument to him, he freſhly urges (and as it were) refricates each particle, to the greatneſſe of his ſpirit and diſcontent; the Duke replyes not much at that time, but buſie in his thoughts leaves him, and preſently faſhions a viſite to the Counteſſe of Richmond, (a Lady of a politick and contriving boſome) to know the credit of his intelligence, which ſhe inſinuates with arguments ſo full of circumſtance and honour, beſides her Sons indearment to him, their nearneſſe of blood, affirming the Dukes Mother a Somerſet, the reciprocall affinitie betweene her Father and his, and then the bravery and Religion in the Cauſe, that the Duke now forſakes himſelfe, and fully gives up his reſolution and promiſe to her; thus prepar'd, he finds out the Lord *Stanley*, the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet*, *Edward Courtney* Earle of Devonſhire, and his Brother the Biſhop of Exeter, Sir *John Bowrchier*, Sir *John Wells*, *Robert Willowby*, *Edward Woodvill*, *Thomas Arundel*, who had ſeverally raiſed forces, and intended their Rendezvous neere Gloceſter, ſo to march for Dorſetſhire, there to receive the Earle and the Duke, with his Welchmen: But the King was early in his preparation, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earle of Richmond arrive there, elſe they had faſtened a moſt dangerous Blow upon him. And at this full ſtop, in theſe progreſſes (me thinkes) wee may obſerve, how uncertainely, in our ſtrongeſt valuations, we are our owne; and that our greateſt Confidences, and humane Policies, are but heavie weights hung at trembling Wyers, while our expectations are apt to be flattered, and out-goe themſelves, but are overtaken

Sir *Tho. Moor.*

This *Margaret* Counteſſe of Richmond, was Daughter and Heire to *Iohn Beaufort* Duke of Somerſet, & *Margaret de Beaufort*, Mother of the D. of Buck. was Daughter of *Edmond* D. of Somerſet; and thus were the E. of Rich. and the D. of Buck. a Kin.

Rob. Glov. in Catal. &c.

The Conſpirators with the D. of Buck. for the E. of Rich.

taken in their Succeſſe, and Fates, as was this great Mans; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the Engliſh being ſcatter'd by a ſuddaine and huge inundation that ſo dangerouſly over-flowed all paſſages, they could not joyne nor paſſe the River Severne, while the ſuddainneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe of it ſtroke the Souldiers with ſuch alteration, that moſt part of them forſooke the Duke and left him to himſelfe: The Earle of Richmond was as unfortunately met at Sea by a great tempeſt, upon the coaſts of England.

The overthrow of the Duke of Buckingham.

Polidore lib. 25

The King took the advantage this accident offered, and purſued the Duke, not only with a galloping Army, but with Edicts & Proſcriptions, that promiſed a thouſand pounds in mony (whereunto ſome Writers adde, ſo much Lands as was worth one hundred pounds *per annum*) to any that ſhould bring in the Duke, who was betrayed and brought to the King then at Salisbury, by *Humphry Baniſter*,) an eternall brand) having lived by this mans ſervice, and now thought treacherouſly to ſubſiſt by his Ruine. The Duke being examined, freely confeſſed all, and for it loſt his head in the field according to Marſhall Law uſed by Armies, in November *An. Dom.* 1484. *An.* 2 *Rich.* 3.

King *Richard* ſharply reprehended *Baniſter* for betraying his Maſter, which argued a noble mind.

The D. executed by Marſhall Law.

And here, if wee view him in the figure of his Ambition or Fate, wee ſhall find Doctor *Morton* his *Caput Argoll*, or the malignant Planet of his fortune; who, as Sir *Thomas Moore* confeſſeth and affirmeth, by his Politick Driſts and Pride, advanced himſelfe, and brought the Duke to this ruine. The reſt fled, ſome into Sanctuaries, others into Brittaine to the Earle of Richmond, and ſome into Flanders, all their Plots being now how to be ſafe.

And thus farre King *Richard*, in the Voyage of his Affaires had a promiſing Gale; wee will therefore here caſt Anchor a while, and claſpe up this firſt Booke, with the Relation of his better Fortunes.

Explicit Lib. I.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF KING *RICHARD* THE THIRD.

The Argument of the Second Booke.

THe Earle of Richmond practiseth with Forreigne Princes, and with the English Nobles for assistance and Forces to make his first and second invasions of England, He came first to Poole with ill successe, secondly to Milford cum bonis avibus.

What Bastards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of Lancaster, how Lancaster and Beaufort or Sommerset differ.

Bastards of Kings must not take the Sirnames of the King or Kingdome.

The honourable priviledge of the name of Plantagenet.

Prince Edward, *and Queene* Anne, John de la Poole *proclaimed Heire of the Kingdom by* Richard *the Third.*

Bastards of John *Duke of Lancaster made legitimate*

timate, and capable of Offices, Honour, and of Heritage by Richard 2, and the Parliament.

What the Legitimation of the Pope is.

Armes and Names of Princes Baſtards.

The Nobility of King Henry 7th. He affied not much in the Titles of Yorke and Lancaſter.

The Pope giveth to him the Title, de jure belli, & de domo Lancaſtriæ.

The greatneſſe of the Title of Yorke, of Counſell, and Counſellours.

The Prerogative of the King in Iudgements and Controverſies.

The Earle of Richmond landeth at Milford Haven; His entertainment there, and in Wales; His apteneſſe for divers wives; he marcheth to Boſworth; King Richard and he fight, Richard is overcome and ſlaine, alſo the Duke of Norfolke by the Earle of Oxford (ut Creditur.) The Earle of Richmond is ſtraight Crowned King in the field; The fatall Erreur of King Richard; Kings loved Combate; The Titles of King Henry 7th. Kings go not now to wars; Cruelties committed upon the body of King Richard; He was attainted of Treaſon, though againſt the Laws of Nature, and of Royall Majeſty, with many of his followers and ſervants; The Earle of Surrey how releaſed out of priſon, his Geneology from Hewardus walter de Buck, and his Progeny.

The

The Second Booke.

WE left King *Richard* the Third in the growth of a flouriſhing and promiſing Eſtate, and his fate now, in the riſe of a peacefull and proſperous Raigne, of a calme and hopefull preſage; But Fortune that lends her ſmiles as Exactors do mony, to undoe the Debtor, ſoone cald for the Principall and Intereſt from this Prince, to whom ſhe was meerly Novercall, and he might well call her with the expert Heros in *Euripides fortuna diurna, i.e.* fortune of a daies life, for in her beſt mood, ſhe is moſt ſlippery in her favours, and tedious in her miſchiefes, as was aptly conſidered by a grave man: *Fortuna adverſas res cupido animo inducit, ſecundas parco*; ſhe is a mother but a little while, a ſtepdame a long time, and for ever to ſome; here then, we are aggreſſing into the turbulent and luctuall times, which were towards the end and period of his Life and Raigne; the formall and finall cauſes, happening from the invaſions attempted by the Earle of Richmond; I will begin the Second Booke there, and may ſay invaſions, becauſe he twice invaded the Kingdome, though by errour or ignorance of our Vulgar Hiſtorians, they are confounded and made one, which corruptly maimes the Story, and conceales and pretermits ſome very remarkeable agitations: particularly, the true cauſe of the Duke of Buckinghams ill ſucceſſe and defeate, is miſunderſtood, or not at all known. To come to it therefore more certainly, we muſt take notice of the firſt preparation by the Earle of Richmond, who was reſolved to advance his claime that way, and unboſomes himſelfe to the Duke of Brittaine, his poſſibility and advantage by friends, if he could raiſe but ſufficient ſtrength to ſet him ſafely in England. The Duke gives him all good wiſhes to his undertaking, but oppoſes (againſt all Arguments of drawing him in) firſt, his Amity and League with England, which in honour and juſtice he was not to violate: Then his wants by the long Civill and cruell Warres, with his Barons, that had ſo exhauſted his Coffers, as durſt he diſpenſe with

Eurip. in Hera.

Valer. Max. l. 7

the former cauſe, yet that might render him excuſed, being unable to furniſh him, at leaſt in ſo ſhort a time as his expedition required; beyond which anſwer, for the preſent, the Earle thought not fit to preſſe him: But having a prompt and ſtrong affiance in his good fortune, makes up to ſome of the Dukes moſt honourable and powerfull Friends, to lay ſiege that way to him by private advantages, for by his ingenious demeanour, he had won the inclinations of many great ones, being Maſter of a pleaſant acute wit, which was well ſupplied in him by the ſtraine of all Courtly Acts; to thoſe he had the helpe of the French Tongue, which he ſpoke excellently well, and (to give all the more plauſible acceſſe and influence) hee was (as *Philip de Comines*, who knew him, teſtifies) a very compleat and well featur'd Gentleman which makes the rule certaine, and well animating

Virgill. *Gratior eſt pulchro veniens è corpore virtus.*

The beauties of the mind more gratious are,
When as the bodies features are more faire.

In the number of thoſe eminent perſons he had gained during his faire impriſonment: more fortunately he had applyed himſelf unto the Lady *Margaret*, Dutcheſſe of Brittaine, Daughter of *Gaſton de Foix*, (a great man in the Weſterne parts of France, whoſe Anceſtors were well affected to the Engliſh) and Madam *de Bevier*, the Dutches, ſo farre countenanced him in his deſigne, that ſhe became an earneſt ſuitor unto the Duke her husband, and prevailed both for his liberty and aide; for caution and pledge herein, he was only to kneele at the High Altar, before the bleſſed Sacrament, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Vannes*, there to make his religious Vow, juſtly and truely to obſerve what reſtitution he privately had promiſed to the Duke and Dutches; which proteſtation made, he had three Ships well rigged and furniſhed with Men, Armes, and Victuals, as my Author relates.

John Froiſard Paradin. Hiſt. de Brit. The Duke had by this Lady his daughter and heir *Anne*, who brought the Dutchy of Brittaine to France.

Hiſt. de Brit. *Au Conte de Richmond furent aux deſpens du duc trois groſſes Navires de Brittannia, charges de gens de Armes, &c. & qui ſe miſent in mer.*

But, by the favour of this Britiſh Writer, the Earle ſtaid many daies at Saint Malo, to receive and ſend intelligence, and made it the beginning of October 1484, before he came to Saint Poole in Dorſet, where he lay ſome time at Anchor, to ſend his Boates a ſhore as Explorers or Spies, for diſcovery of the Coaſts, where the Kings Armie, or his friends lay, who returned without any particular ſatisfaction, but that there was many Armed men about the Country. The Earle (who in all things was circumſpect, and cautiouſly timerous) reſolved immediately to looſe from thence; but the night following, a terrible tempeſt conſtrained them with all haſt to weigh Anchor, and make into the Maine, the Storme and darkeneſſe of the night ſevering and diſperſing their Ships, ſome to the Coaſts of Brittaine,

taine, but the Earle himſelfe to the Coaſts of Normandy. And this was the ſucceſſe of his firſt invaſion, which, though it bore an inauſpicate face, it proved of a friendly event: For had he landed about Poole, or but ſtayed till the Kings Ships had come in, that lay waiting not far off, he had been a loſt man every way, the King being not only active to meet their contrivements, but had ſome advantage upon them, by the cloſe intelligence of a friend, and knew that the Forces of the Duke of Buckingham, with the Earle of Devon, and others, were to meet neare Glouceſter, and march in their full and united ſtrength, towards the ſea-Coaſts of Dorſet, there to receive the Earle: But the King encountred with the Duke of Buckinghams Army, beate him, and cut off his head, before any of the reſt could come at him, daily putting the ordinary bands of theſe Weſt Countries in a ready poſture for guard of their Coaſts; and that if the Earle of Richmond, or any of his French Forces came a ſhore, they were to be entertained courteouſly by them pretending themſelves of the Duke of Buckinghams Army, who had routed the Kings Party, and were ſent thither to receive and conduct the Earle with his men to London. This was the projected end: But it is of remarkeable note, to look into the various paths of this Earles fortune, and how they brought him to his journies end, when they appeared moſt doubtfull and threatning, not only gave him advantage by the good ſucceſſe of his Enterpriſes, but made the moſt adverſe accidents ſerve as proſperous unto them; for was it not happy the ſtorme at Poole drove him from the Coaſts of England, and no leſſe fortunate, that the Duke of Buckingham was defeated, whereas, had the Duke atcheived that day, the Earle of Richmond not being there, (who was to be preſent in perſon, and Generall of the field) we may with reaſon conjecture his Emulation and Policy, would have accumulated the honour and fortune of the Conqueſt to his owne pretended Title: ſuch Spirits like the Sea, where they intrude or win, making their advantage their right, and not eaſily ſurrender, ſo much is the engagements of Ambition, too ſtrong for all ties of faith and right.

The example is obſervable in the Earle of Richmond himſelfe; who although he knew the Children of the Duke of Clarence and others, had better right to the Crowne, yet once poſſeſt, would not reſigne, no not to his owne Sonne, whilſt he could hold it; nor did he want his Preſidents, as all men know, who know any thing. And to take all Relations in our way, that may be levell with our Story, betwixt this and his ſecond Invaſion, ſome other paſſages offer themſelves, as an interim, and not impertinent to ſupply the Readers obſervation.

Amongſt other, the Death of the Kings deare and only Sonne (at leaſt Legitimate) who dyed in the Caſtle of Middleham in Yorkeſhire, in the Month of Aprill, *Anno Dom.* 1484 which newes gave ſuch a paſſionate Charge upon the Nature and Affections of the King and Queene (being then in the Caſtle of Nottingham) that as mine

The death of *Edw.* Prince of Wales, Sonne of *Rich.* 3. Chron. Croyland.

Ibidem.

Author ſaith, *Subitis doloribus inſanire videbantur.*

Yet the King, being a man of an equall moderation to his courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly encounters, and as it was ſaid of *Iulius Caſar*, that he ſoone paſſed the death of his only daughter *Iulia* (moſt pretious in his affection) *Et tam facile dolorem hunc, quam omnia vicit*; So King *Richard* tempered his griefe and buſineſſe ſo together, that the one made him not unſenſible, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of Croyland telleth, did all things gravely and diſcreetly as before.

Seneca.

Rex Richardus nihilominus tamen ſuam partem defenſione vacaverit: although the Queene could not hold ſo proportioned a temper over her griefe, the tenderneſſe of her Sexe, letting it breake upon her in a more paſſionate manner, and with ſuch an Impreſſion, that it became her ſickeneſſe paſt recovery, languiſhing in weakneſſe and extremity of ſorrow, untill ſhe ſeemed rather to overtake death, than death her; which was not long after the Princes, and added not a little to the Kings ſufferings and ſorrowes, (though traducing Spirits have charged him with ſhortning her life by poyſon, or ſome other practice, which are preſtigious and blacke Comments, falſly plac't in the Margent of his Story, and may mere nearely touch the credit of the Authors than his, if we judiciouſly take a view of him and his Actions; and looke upon the indulgent and active care for his Country, which he gave a conſtant and ſincere expreſſion of, inſtantly after his Sonnes death, when by the deliberation and conſent of the Barons, he was induſtrious to thinke of a Succeſſour, and to nominate ſuch an one whoſe bloud and worth might make him equally Heire to the Crown and the peoples affection, (with the higheſt approbation of the Kingdome) and none more neare to either, then Sir *Iohn de la Poole* Earle of Lincolne, Sonne and Heire of *Iohn de la Poole* Duke of Suffolke, and of the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, Ducheſſe of Suffolke, the Siſter and Heire of this King *Richard*, who was declared and proclaimed Heire apparant to the Kingdome. This was a *Contrecarre* to the Faction of Richmond, and (indeed) what greater affront could thwart them, if thoſe of the Houſe of Lancaſter or Beaufort, were next Heire to the Crowne, (as the pretenders affirmed for the Earle of Richmond) who would likewiſe have him to be *Caput gentis Lancaſtriæ, & Princeps familiæ*, though they could ſcarcely prove him (not without queſtion I am ſure) *Membrum illius familiæ*, untill he came to be King, for it was a queſtion in thoſe times, and much diſputed, whether the Beauforts or Sommerſets were of the Houſe of Lancaſter, or no: moſt true it is, the Children of the Houſe of Lancaſter being lawfully borne, and after *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of Lancaſter, had Conquered and depoſed *Richard* the Second, were to be held Princes of the Bloud Royall, and capable of the Crowne in their naturall and due Order. But thoſe of Beaufort or Sommerſet, were as the Vulgar hath it, *filij populi*, or as the Imperiall Juris-conſults ſay, *liberi vulgo quæſiti*, who by the old Greeks were termed Ἀπάτορες, *i.e. ſine Patre*, the Doctors of the Spiri-

Iohn Earle of Lincolne, and after Duke of Suffolke proclaimed Heire Apparant.

ruall

tuall Law, drawing the *Originem* of ſuch children, *ab illicito & damnato coitu*, of the polluted adulterous bed (and ſo thoſe *Beauforts*, three males and one female, begotten by *Iohn* of Gaunt (as he believed) according to the Lawes were to be reputed, the children of Sir *Otho Swinford*, begotten upon *Katherine* his Wife in his life time, who was daughter of Sir *Payen Rovet* a French-man, dwelling in Beauforts, and was Guyen Herald to the Duke of Lancaſter. His Dutcheſſe *Dona Conſtantia*, (a moſt noble and vertuous Lady, daughter of *Don Pedro* King of Caſtile) was living alſo in the time he kept this *Katherine*, and had thoſe *Beauforts*, who were Sir-named ſo from the place of their birth, a Town of his own in Aniow. But to note *tranſitu*, how obnoxious this Duke made his frailties, that (thinking to put a ſmoother face upon his ſin) gave it but the ſame bluſh, by making this *Katherine Swinford* his Dutcheſſe, againſt the liking of the King & all his noble friends, & direct Tenor of the common Laws, which pronounce marriages between ſuch as have lived in Aldutery unlawfull: Nay, to make him the more marvaile and ſmiling diſcourſe of the Court, the glaſſe of his age was turn'd to his laſt yeare when he ſacrific'd theſe ſcatterd embers of his deſires and paſſion. But he obtained thoſe children to be legitimated: Firſt, by the Pope *Vrbanus* the ſixt; next by the Charter of King *Richard* the ſecond, and had both theſe indulgences afterward enlarged and confirmed by Parliament. Yet neither theſe foure legitimate children, *nec qui naſcebantur ab illis*, were permitted to the Princely familiar Title of Lancaſter, ſo long as that name flouriſhed, much leſſe of *Plantagenet*, for that was the peculiar Sir-name in chiefe of the Kings of England, and Princes of the blood Royall, ſince the time of the ſecond *Henry*, Sonne of the Empreſſe *Matilda*, the firſt founder of that name in the Royall Family of England. Of which honour were partakers, the Princely Family of Wales, of Brotherton, of Yorke, of Lancaſter, of Clarence, of Woodſtock, of Gloceſter, &c. And there are yet ſome Noblemen in Portugall, who deſcended from *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, and are called and written *de Lancaſtro*, others of the like *Origine* and Title may doe as much. Neither would *King Henry* the fourth, *Henry* the fift, nor *King Henry* the ſixt, all *Kings* of the Lancaſtrian race indure to let the Lineage of *Beaufort* (though they reſpected them as kinſmen, and advanced them to many honours) Aſſume the the Sir-name of Lancaſter, holding it an Arrogation and Uſurpation of Royaltie and Royall Rights, wherein they followed their Anceſtors, who deviſed other names for their baſe children: As *Fitz-Roy*, *Oxenford*, *Fitz-Herbert*, *Clarendon*, *Fitz-Henry Longueſpee Cornwall*; and ſo they continued the name of *Beaufort* and *Somerſets* untill the Earle of *Richmond* came, and this was in imitation of the *Kings* of France as I conceive. For within the reach of my obſervation, ſince the time of *Hugh Capet*, they never vouchſafed any of their baſe ſons to be capable of the Crown of France, or to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the Sir-name of France; but the illegitimate daughters may take

John Sarisburienſis Ep. 85.

Sir *Tho. Walſin. in Rich. 2.*

Parl. *ann. 20. Rich. 2.*

Don Duart de Lancaſtro a Noble Gen. of Portugall, averred himſelf deſcended from the D. of *Lan. Valodolid.*

The peculiar Sir-names of the Baſtards of the ancient Kings of England

take the Sir-name *France*, or *de France*; becauſe they can make no claime to the Crowne by a pretended permiſſion of the Salik-law, which *Iohn de Tillet* witneſſeth.

Armes of Baſtards of the Kings of England.

La troiſieſme lignèe a du tout rejectè, les Baſtards non ſeulement de la Coronne mais auſsi de l'aduen, et Surnom de France, qui Conceſsion eſt permis aux Baſtards de roy &c.

And as the Baſtards of the Kings of England had other names, ſo they tooke differenced Armes; or elſe were permitted to beare their mothers (if of any Family.) If tolerated to beare the armes of England; then they were diverſified in a Checking, Debaſing and Rebating manner, with Baſtons, Bends, Siniſter Barres, Bordures, Marks of Baſeneſſe, Obſcuritie and Noveltie, which any new Gentleman might beare, ſuch as the Learned call *filios terræ & novos homines*; and wee vulgarly, upſtarts. But to object againſt the uſe of this in England, the example of *Hamelin* is brought in; and to credit it, his Armes forged by ſome weake and negligent Heralds, who call him *Hamelin Plantagenet*, when the truth is, this *Hamelin* (baſe ſonne of *Ieoffry Plantagenet*, Earle of Aniow) was ſimply called *Hamelin*, and his ſonne *William* tooke the Sir-name of his Mother Dame *Iſabel de Warren*, daughter and heire of *William de Warren* Earle of Surrey, which their *Poſteri* continued; as *Ioannes de Warrena* the firſt, and *Ioannes de Warrena* the ſecond, both Earles of Surrey; and *Iſabella de Warren*, and *Elianor de Warren &c.* mentioned in the Charters and Records, but never *Plantagenet*, which is acknowledged by our beſt Heralds and Antiquaries; Maſter *William Campden* hath theſe words: *Iſabella filia ſola Gulielmi de Warrena Comitis Surreiæ Hamelinum Nothum Galfredi Plantageneti &c. titulo Comitis Surreiæ maritum exornavit. Hamelinus Gulielmum Surreiæ Comitem genuit, cujus poſteri à Scito Warrenorũ nomine eundem titulum geſſerunt.* And that the baſe ſonne of King *Edward* the fourth, was commonly called *Arthur Plantagenet* proves nothing neither, well conſidered: For in the times when this *Arthur* lived, the name of *Plantagenet*, being onely left in the houſe of Yorke (the Lancaſterian *Plantagenet* being more extinguiſhed) had not the former honour and reputation, but was darkned and ſetting, rather drawing a contempt and hate to them that bare it, the White Roſe dayly fading and withering; and ſo malignant was their Planet then, that, as a Learned Gentleman hath further obſerved, It was not ſafe in that time to be a *Plantagenet*; therefore the permiſſion of thoſe times can be no warrant for the objections, nor the ignorance of the Poeticall Heralds, who have ſtrain'd this fable of *Hamelin*. Yet farther, not onely giving him and his *Poſteri* a falſe Sir-name, but aſſign'd him by the like *Fabulous* Art, a ſhield of familiar Enſignes, the Armes of France border'd with an Orle of Normandy or Guyen: which he, nor yet any of the Antique Lineage of Aniow, or their Progeny ever bare, or could by juſt Title beare, either ſimply, or compounded, or the Progenitors of our Engliſh Kings the Lillies of Gold in an azure field, untill King *Edward* claimed the Crowne of France,

Camd. in Surr.

Tho. Gainsford.

France, and assumed them in the right of Queene *Isabel de Valoys* his Mother, who was the first that bare them quarterly with the Armes of England.

But the Armes of the ancient Earles of Aniow were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Bucle of a military Scarffe or Belt, set with precious Stones) not a Carbuncle or more precious Ruby, for the terme is erroneous and absurd, if considered: The Princes of Aniow bare this Scarboucle in a shield party *per* Chiefe, Argent and Gueules; and the Heires of this *Hamelin* (who tooke the Sir-name of *Warren*) bare also the Armes of the house of *Warren* in their Shields and Caparisons, but bare the Scarboucle of Aniow for their Crest, as they were descended out of that House, as I have seene upon a Seal of *Ioannes de Warrena* Earl of Surrey, at a Charter, dated 20. *E.* 3. *An. Dom.* 1346. *apud Dom. Rob. Cotton*, which hath given me occasion to speake thus much to cure the Blemish that mistake hath thrust into History, such absurdities having their infection, and passing by an Age or two upon the easie and common judgments, after grow up for tall and undeniable truths: For some meerly reading the complexion of things, as they do men by their out-sides, or as boyes Poetry, with a tickled faith; through such wide eares and observations, crept in that Parasitisme on the one side, and Pride and Usurpation on the other side, that made the house of Lancaster and the *Beauforts*, alias *Somersets*, all one; which (whilst the house of York flourished) was held to differ as much as Royall and Feudall, Soveraignty and Suzeraignty; for their modestie at first was very well pleased with that of *Beaufort*, and it seem'd honourable enough untill the children of *Iohn de Beaufort*, the eldest Brother (being Earle of Somerset) assumed the name of their Fathers greatest honour and Earledome for their Sir-name, and the rest following, quite left the name of *Beaufort*, and made the other Hereditary. From this, *Iohn de Beaufort* Earle of Somerset, and Marquesse of Dorset, descended *Henry* Duke of Somerset, Father naturall to *Charles Somerset*, created Earle of Worcester by *King Henry* the eight. And it is worth the noting, that this Duke *Henry* left the Faction of Lancaster to follow *Edward* the fourth. The first *Beauforts* legitimated by the Pope; and *Richard* the second have no other Sir-names, but *Beaufort* in either of the instruments Apostolicall, nor any words to give or emure them to any capacitie of Royall Title, or state of Soveraignty in the Crown, onely purged them by the Popes spirituall power from the fouleness of Bastardy, allowing them as children legitimate and lawfully born, but gives them no other title then *Ioanna de Beaufort miles*, *Henricus de Beaufort Clericus*, *Thomas de Beaufort Domicellus*, *Ioannus de Beaufort Domicella*, and more the Pope cannot doe. As the Doctors of Sorbone, and some of the best Canonists hold, who peremptorily affirme, That the Pope cannot make Bastards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can give them power to Constitute Successours or Heires, or hold Offices, Dignities, or Titles,

Scarboucle, falsly called Carbuncle.

Differenee betweene the house of Lancaster and Somerset.

The Earles of Worcester, from whom.

The civill and imperiall Law againſt Baſtards. Sir *Edw. Cook.*

tles, without the Princes ſpeciall diſpenſation, to which the Civill and Imperiall Lawes agree, and is Authentick in England, as a Learned and eminent Judge reports, though others thinke it of too ſevere a nature, and moderately agreeable to reaſon and Law (the Law much obſerving reaſon) That Baſtards being honeſt and worthy men (the rather if they be avowed by their Fathers) may be admitted to Honours, Dignities, Titles, Feuds, and other Ornaments of rewards and vertue. Of this indulgence and connivence, wee have examples in England by two worthy and deſerving men (flouriſhing in this Age) who, though Baſtards held the greateſt Offices in England. So *Richard* the ſecond, in his Charter for the legitimation of the *Beauforts*, would have men of deſert (and avowed by their Fathers) capable of Advancement and Honours. The Tenor of which Charter and Confirmation of it by Parliament I ſhall exhibite, as it is taken out of the Archives and Tower Records, opening the way by a ſhort advertiſement, That in this Act of Parliament, there is an Induction to the Charter, made by Doctor *Edmond Stafford*, Brother to the Earle of Stafford, and Biſhop of Exeter, Lord Chancellour of England in the twentieth yeare of *Richard* the ſecond; which intimateth, that Pope *Vrbanus* the ſixt, at the earneſt requeſt of the *King*, vouchſafed to legitimate theſe *Beauforts*, the baſe ſonnes and the daughter of the Duke of Guyen and Lancaſter: That the *King* alſo, having power to legitimate and enable Baſtards in the ſame kind, and in as ample manner as the Emperour hath or had, for ſo he preſſed and avowed in the Act, was pleaſed at the humble requeſt and ſuit of the Duke their Father, to make them not onely legitimate, but alſo capable of Lands, Heritages, Titles, Honours, Offices, Dignities, &c. And that the *King* for the more authority therof, crav'd the allowance and favourable aſſent of the Barons in Parliament, which was granted: The Charter runnes thus.

Doctor *Stephen Gardiner.* Sir *Tho. Eger.* Chancellors of England.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Joannis* Ducis Lancaſtriæ.

RIchardus *dei gratia Rex, Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus, Hiberniæ, chariſſimis conſanguineis noſtris, Nobilibus viri* Ioanni *de* Beaufort *Militi*, Henrico *de B. Clerico*, Thomæ *de* Beaufort *Domicello & Nobili mulieri* Ioannæ Beaufort *domicellæ præclariſſimi patrui noſtri Nobilis viri* Ioannis *Ducis Aquitaniæ & Lancaſtriæ Germanis natis & liegis noſtris ſalutem.*

Nos pro honore & meritis &c. Avunculi noſtri, Proprio arbitratu & meritorum ſuorum intuitu vos, quia magno probitatis

bitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum Honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis prosapia propagati, &c. hinc est quod Ioannis *&c. avunculi nostri genitoris vestri precibus inclinati vobis (cum (ut asseritur) defectum natalium patimini) hujusmodi defectum & ejusdem qualitates quascunque abolere præsentes, vos haberi volumus, pro sufficientibus, ad quoscunque honores, dignitatis præeminentias, status, gradus, & officia, publica, & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque Judicialia & Nobilia, quibuscunq; nominibus nuncupentur, etiam si, Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baroniæ vel alia feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel immediate, à nobis dependeant seu teneantur præfici, præmoveri, eligi, assumi & admitti, illaq; recipere pro inde libere ac licite valeatis, ac fide legitimo thoro nati existeritis, quibuscunque Statutis, seu Consuetudinibus regni nostri Angliæ in contrarium editis seu observatis quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostræ regalis potestatis & de assensu Parliamenti nostri tenore præsentium dispensamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum natalibus restituimus & Legitimanus, Die Feb. Anno regni 20. R. 2.*

Here wee find large Graces, Honours, and Priviledges, conferred upon those *Beauforts*; for the King calls them *Consanguineos suos*, and not onely confirmes their Legitimation, but makes them (by the helpe of the Parliament) capable of Baronies, Earledomes, Dukedomes, and Principalities, enableth them for all Offices publique and private, temporary and perpetuall, to take hold of and injoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands and Signiories Hereditary, as lawfully, firmly and rightfully, as if they had beene borne in lawfull matrimony, but yet conferres no Royall Title nor interest in the Crowne, at the least, to the observation of those who allow not the claime of the *Beauforts* and *Somersets*, and say, that to reach that, there must be words of a higher intent, words of Empire, Majesty, and Soveraigntie, such as *Regni summa potestas; Corona; Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Majestas*, and the like: Neither of these, nor any importing their extent, being in this grant, so no Title to the Crowne nor Soveraigntie could passe to them.

To which the other side replyes, That there is a word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Raigne, and Soveraigntie, that is, *Principatus*; whereof the King and Parliament make the *Beauforts* capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps*, a Title of the most absolute Soveraigne Power; for the Roman Emperours in their greatest height, were called *Principes*, therefore *Princeps* is thus defined;

Principatus. Princeps.

Princeps eſt penes quem ſumma Reip. poteſtas eſt, & qui primus omnium dominatur; And *Principatus*, and *Dominatus* are uſed, as *Synonomies*. But it is conceiv'd an errour now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum*, or *Supremus Dominatus*, being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the age of *Richard* the ſecond, alſo ever ſince, hath beene reſtrained to the Eſtate of *Primogenitus* and Heire apparant, not onely of *K*ings, but alſo of Dukes and Marqueſſes, as well Feudall as Soveraigne. And the next *K*ing *Henry* the fourth, a wiſe, diſcreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclin'd to thoſe *Beauforts* (as being his naturall Brethren by the Paternall ſide, and willing to advance them all he could) yet he diſcovered clearely enough by that certaine Charter in which he entailed the Crowne ſucceſſively to his foure Sonnes, and to the Heires of their bodies, that he reputed not the *Beauforts* to be Lancaſtrians, or neare the Crown. Neither is there the leaſt clauſe or mention to leave any remainder therein to them: Firſt, he intaild the Crowne to his eldeſt ſonne *Henry* Prince of Wales, after him to the Heires of his body; If they faile, then to *Thomas* of Lancaſter his ſecond ſonne, and to the Heires of his body, ſo to his third ſonne *Iohn* of Lancaſter, and to the Heires of his body. Laſtly, to the fourth ſonne *Humphrey*, and to the Heires of his body, for ſtill, and for every eſtate: the words are, *Poſt ipſum ſucceſſive Heredibus ſuis de ipſius Corpore legitime procreandis*, which is all, and implicatively an expreſſe excluſion of the *Beauforts*. This Charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament holden at Weſtminſter the two and twentieth day of December, in the eight yeare of *Henry* the fourth, and ſealed with his owne Signet. Upon the Dexter ſide of that, hung the ſeales of ſundry Lords Spirituall; on the left ſide, the ſeales of the Lords Temporall witneſſes. And albeit, the Earle of Richmond could not ſo well and rightly beare the name of *Beaufort* or *Somerſet*, being a Teador by his Father, and ſo to be Sir-named, or of ſome other Welch-name (if there were any in his Family) by his Mother he was deſcended from the *Beauforts*; for the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſſe of Richmond, was daughter and heire to Sir *Iohn de Beaufort* Duke of Somerſet, and Grand-child to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* by *Katherine* the wife of *Otho de Swinford*, which *Iohn de Beaufort*, was created Duke of Somerſet by *Henry* the fift, his Wife was the daughter, and at length the heire of Sir *Iohn Beauchamp* of Bletſo, and the widow of Sir *Oliver Saint-Iohn* when he married her: But the Earle of Richmond, by his Grand-mother *Katherine* Queene of England, was deſcended from the Kings of France, and I have ſeen him in a Pedigree (drawne after he was King) derived from the ancient Kings & Princes of Brittaine. *Polidore* ſaith, he was *Ex fratre Nepos* to *K*ing *Henry* the ſixt, who cal'd him Nephew, and he the *K*ing, *Avunculum noſtrum* (our Uncle) inſteed of *Patruum*, as it is in the Records of Parliament, *Ann.* 1. of *Henry* the ſeventh, but not his Nephew, as wee erroneouſly now take it, that is his German younger Brothers Sonne, for then he had beene a true Maſculine Iſſue of the houſe of Lancaſter and Royall blood of England. But

The Charter of *H.*4 for entayling the Crowne.

This Charter I ſaw in the hands of Sir *Rob. Cotton*, & from it tooke theſe Summary notes.

The Noblenes and Family of *H.* E. of Rich.

Glover.

1413.

Polid. lib. 25. So King *R.* 2. called *Iohn* of *Gaunt Avunculum noſtrum*, Rec. in Tower; But that was the fault of the barbarous Latine Clerks, not knowing the difference between *patruos* & *avunculos*.

But he was Nephew to him by his Brother Uterine, *Edmond Tewdor* Earle of Richmond, the ſonne of *Owen Tewdor* or *Meridock*, and of Queene *Katherine*, daughter of *Charles* the ſixt King of France, and widow of *Henry* the fift King of England, which the French well knew; and gave him the better eſteeme for it, but thoſe Honours were obſcure Additions to him that muſt not goe leſſe then for a Prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, and ſo of England, which paſſed with ſuch vulgar credit in France, that *Du Tillet* miſtooke *Iohn* Duke of Somerſet, Father of *Margaret* Counteſſe of Richmond, for the true and lawfull Sonne of *Iohn de Gaunt, &c.* by his firſt Wife *Blanch Plantagenet*, Daughter and Heire of the Earle and Earledome of Lancaſter. *Philip de Comines* Lord of Argent, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title which he gives us thus.

In his Booke *Le Recuerl. des Rangez, &c.* Part 2.

Il n'avoit croix, ny pile, ne null droit (Come je croy) a la Coronne d'Angleterre: And this expreſſes, he had no great opinion of either, though he were then King when this was writ. But let us ſuppoſe him lawfully from that Duke of Lancaſter, his claime muſt ſtand excluded whilſt the houſe of Yorke ſurvived, for *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of Yorke, and King of England deſignat, by Act of Parliament holden 39 yeare of King *Henry* the ſixt, to whom theſe Titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earle of Cheſter, and Protector of England, were given by the three Eſtates in that Parliament, deſcended from the Daughter and Heire of the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the third. (For as before, ſo ſtill I leave the Infant *William* of Hatfield without the Catalogue) and King *Henry* the fourth and his Progeny, deſcended from the third Sonne; and King *Henry* the ſixt, being the beſt of the houſe of Lancaſter then living, did acknowledge in that Parliament, the Title of *Richard* Duke of Yorke, the onely lawfull and juſt Title, ſo conſequently next and better then that of Lancaſter or any other; and before any *Beaufort* or their Heires, the Iſſue of the two daughters of *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, *Philip* and *Katherine* (married to the King of Portugall and Caſtile) were to be preferr'd if Forraigne Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earle of Richmond, meaſuring his owne height, by the advantage of a tumultuary and indiſpoſed time, and finding his Lancaſtrian pretence, began to have a popular retinew, he was now incompatible of any others precedency and propinquity for thoſe great ones that led him by the hand unto the Action, layd the line by their owne corrupted hopes and feares of the ſucceſſe, therefore would not let the fortune of their expectation faint in him. Biſhop *Morton* ſteered much in the courſe of their Affaires, and was a great Oracle to the Earle, who was noted too partiall and credulous, eſpecially where he believed the perſons of any honeſty, vertue, or learning, for which his fame yet beares ſome ſtaines of *Morton, Dudley, Empſon, Bray, Vrſwike, Knevett, &c.* for there be two extreames obſerved in the Councells of Princes, one when the Prince is ſubject to follow the councells of evill men; the other, when the Prince is

Philip Plant. Lyonel Plant. D. of Clarence

too opinionated to consult with Counsell, such an one as was *Charles*, the hardy Duke of Burgundy, so opinionated and overweening of his owne wisedome and judgement, that he under-thought all mens else, which wide conceit of his hath left this Monument.

Pe. Henterus. Iob. Megerus.

Carolus pugnax aliorum consilia & rationes (ne dicam) sequi nix audire volebat, ignominia loco habens ab alijs discere, & judicavit, se proprio cerebro omnia concilia habere recondita.

And to give us yet further character of Bishop *Morton*, Sir *Thomas Moore* (sometimes his Master) tels us, his best inclinations were swaid to the dangerous positions and rules of pollicie, and Doctor *Iohn Hird* in his metricall History of England, brings him in an Ambodexter and observer of fortune, one while yorkeizing another while Lancastrizing, thus delivering himselfe:

Si Fortuna meis fauisset partibus olim,
Et gnato Henrici sexti diadema dedisset,
Edwardi nunquam venissem regis in aulam,
Sed quia supremo stetit hæc sententia Regi,
Henrico auferre, ac Edwardo reddere sceptrum,
Tanta mea nunquam lusit dementia mentem,
Vt sequerer partes regis victi atque sepulti.
Aduersus viuum, &c.

Which may be thought well said by a meere Politician, But from a friend it wants something of a Christian, for true friendship and piety will owne us in the blackest adversity and silence of the grave, as the divine *Ariosto* hath something neare observed in this elegant *Stanza*.

Arioſt. cant. 19.

Neſſun può ſaper du chi ſia amato
Quándo felice in ſula ruota ſi ede;
Pere ch' ha veri, & infiniti amici alato,
Chi moſtran tuti, una medeſima fede,
Se poi ſi cangia in triſto il he'ſta ſtato,
Volta la turba adulatrice il piede,
Et quel di cu or' ama riman' forte,
Et ama il ſuo amico doppo la morte.

No man whilst he was happy ever knew
Assuredly of whom he was belov'd,
For then he hath both feigned friends and true,
Whose faith seemes both alike till they be prov'd,
But he is left of all the flattering Crew
When from his happy state he is remov'd,
But he who loves in heart, remaines still one,
And loves his friend when he is dead and gone:

Doctor *Mortons* aimes were drawne from other rules which with good *alacrity*, made him Archbishop, and Lord Chancellour of England, and put him the next lift into a Cardinallship, and then he stood on tiptoes by the King, according to the Roman Marshalling of States for in the Popes list of ranges and presence, his holinesse is the first, then the Emperour, next a Cardinall, then a King; and in this, Sir *Tho. Moore* notes the extremity of his pride, to abuse his wisdome and piety, which otherwise might have kept him and his memory unsullyed in these preferments, so much our vices impostumate our fames, hypocrisie leaving the scarre but of a deformed cure upon it at best.

But Doctor *Goodwin* Bishop of Hereford, presents him neater (as it were) in his Domesticke nature, and reports when Doctor *Morton* was Archbishop of Canterbury, he exacted and extorted a far greater Summe of money from the Clergy of his Dioceſſe then was ever before, and for his private Commodity (which he covetously sought) brought certaine Leames or bigger Ditches to his owne grounds about Wisbitch, from the River Nine, which was before navigable, and of much publike use, but hath since served for little or none. And *Iohn Stow* saies he was the stirrer up of those great and grieveous taxes which raised the people to Armes and Rebellion: These notes of his naturall dispositions stucke like wennes upon the face of his Religion, and from that mind, where by affections justle Religion and conscience out, how hazardous may the Power and Counsell of such be, to the inclinations of a wise Prince but this Prelate made his so Canonicall, and fitted them to the times, and his Mr temper, that they deceived not his expectation, but brought him home to his ends, and to the favor of a provident & wise Prince; that he was so, the world must justly avow, and in all his actions, we may see him, of a safe and contracted wisedome, governed by a most cautelous spirit, as great a husband of those vertues he had, as of his Glory, not too modest, (if I be not much mistaken) to heare of either; of both which he hath left us pious tastes. But the most surviving addition of memory, is that great example of Majesty, and her Sexe, Queene *Elizabeth*, who was said to be like this King her Grandfather, as well in composition of qualities, as favour, and lineaments, that she was his lively and perfect Image; and to use an even hand in the extention of himselfe and his power, it must not be denyed, (how far off soever he was at first) after the Crown yeilded to him, he was the true proprietary of all the Rights and Titles which carried it, or had dependency thereon; and to colleague all in a full and perfect strength, the Title of Yorke was confirmed to him by marriage of *Elizabeth Plantagenet* Eldest Daughter of *Edward* 4. Prince or head of that Family, to whom the Title of Lancaster instantly escheated as he was King, which before was in controversie, or in nubibus, or Abeyance (as our Lawyers say) for no man being a Subject, how Capitall and chiefe a Judg, or of what judicatory power soever, could give a definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous cause or Act

Fra. Goodwin in Catalogo *Episcoporum.*

Iohn Stow.

Qu. *Elizabeth.*

of

of the King: but the King himſelf which is an ancient and Authentique paragraph in the Laws of England, as learned Judge *Bracton* affirmeth.

Brac. li. 2. cap. 16. *De Chartis Regijs, & de factis regum non poſſunt Juſticiarij diſputare, nec ſi diſputatio oriatur, poſſunt eam interpretari, ſed in dubijs & obſcuris, & ubi aliqua dictio contineat duos intellectus, domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, &c.*

The reaſon is given in the Bookes of the Civill and Imperiall Lawes peremptorily, *quia de principali Iudicio non eſt diſputandum.* So that Controverſie, whether the Beauforts or Sommerſets were of the Houſe of Lancaſter, and capable of the Crowne or no, could not be determined untill there came a competent Judge, a King, and King of England, who by that vertue and power decreed to himſelf, the Title of Lancaſter, with all the Royall Apurtenances confirmed by the Pope, as proper to him, and then the Writers both Engliſh and French, had ſome colour to ſay, he was *de la ligne de Lancaſtre, & caput gentis regalis & Princeps familiæ Lancaſtrienſis.*

But the Chancellour *Morton*, by a more happy & plauſible inſinuation, termed the Marriage an union of Yorke and Lancaſter, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable acceptance to the King (at leaſt in the beginning of his Raigne,) though after (as may be obſerved,) he thought thoſe attributions, but ſmall wyers to hold the weight and conſequence of his Crowne, nay, ſo ſlender was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his Titles of Yorke and Lancaſter, much leſſe of Sommerſet, that he ſeemed tacitly to wave and quit them, and ſtucke to that of his Sword and Conqueſt; For the more publike vote and knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation, Proclamations made with theſe Titles, *Henricus Rex Angliæ jure divino, jure humano, & jure Belli, &c.* which the Barons could not fancy, nor condiſcend to, though the King peremptorily avowed and maintained he might juſtly aſſume and beare it, having as a Conquerour entred the Land, fought for the Crowne, and wonne it; they anſwer as peremptorily, that he was beholding to them, both for his Landing and Victory, and by their permiſſion had that faire and proſperous footing upon their Coaſts, not by any ſtroke of his French, which were not ſo many as the leaſt Legion of the Romans, and had found but bloudy entertainment by the valiant Engliſh, if ever they had landed, beſides the inſtigation of a mortall hatred againſt the Invader, never to be extinguiſhed, but with an utter expulſion and deſtruction, which they humbly prayed might be worthy of his conſideration, and not to take from his loving people the juſt due of their Affections, by aſcribing ſo much of his victory to the French, or his Welſh Sword, Sith, they voluntarily opened their Armes and Country, to receive him and put the Crowne upon his head, that this was their free and voluntary Act they hoped he could not forget: and if ſo, why would he make ſuch an Atchievement, a Conqueſt, or a purchaſe of the Sword, tearmes of a moſt harſh and diſonant ſound to the Engliſh, who reputed them as Barbarous and Tyrannicall, their ends and events to enſlave them, their

King *H.* 7. only affected the Title *de jure Belli.*

their Goods and Fortunes, under a Licentious power that might Act and will any thing: *Quicquid Victor audet, aut Victus timet?* The examples of the conquering Gothes and Vandalls, Longobards, in Italy and Spaine, Saxons and Normans in England; and lately the Spaniards in America, with many other cruell Lords eſtated onely by their unjuſt Armes and Swords, being freſh and bleeding inſtances, that when but mentioned, ſtirre up thoughts of horrour and deteſtation of the Swords Title. But the more they oppos'd it, the more he is conſtant to have it aſſented by the Pope with his Title of Lancaſter, which he thought would be a ſtronger bridle to check all murmurs, but yet indeavoured it not directly and diſertly, but under a cloſe and borrowed prætext, the out-ſide of his Embaſſage being only to obtaine a diſpenſation and pardon for his marriage, prætending a feare of Inceſt, his Wife being his Kinſ-woman; *Et quarto Conſanguinitatis & forſan affiinitatis gradu*, which Pope *Innocentius* the eight granted the firſt yeare of his raigne; and afterward (upon what occaſion I cannot ſay) he renewed the ſame ſuit to Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, who confirmed and ratified the pardon and diſpenſation made by his Predeceſſors in the fourth yeare of this Kings Raigne,

Senec.

An. Dom. 1486.

An. Dom. 1490.

But it is obſervable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles; neither did the King publikely ſolicite the Pope to confirm theſe two Titles, his Embaſſador had that particular in his private inſtructions: So that by this, the Pope ſeemeth only to make a rehearſall of thoſe Titles as due and proper to him before, and the Titles *de jure Belli, & de jure Lancaſtriæ*, ſeem'd not as any matters or ſubject of the Bull, but rather ſome deſire the Pope had, to expreſſe a love and honour to the King, and that he was pleaſed, *Ex proprio & mero motu & certa ſcientia ſua*, to make ſuch honourable memoriall of all the Majeſticall Titles in the Kings right, as the more ſtately embroideries to his glorious Letters of Apoſtolicall indulgence; for the diſpenſation of the ſaid marriage conveyed, and in theſe words:

I have ſeene this Bull in the Cabinet of Sir *Rob. Cotton.*

Hic Rex Angliæ, de domo Lancaſtriæ originem trahens, ac qui notorio jure, & indubitato proximo ſucceſſionis titulo & Prælatorum & procerum Angliæ Electione & conceſſione &c. Etiam de jure Belli eſt Rex Angliæ.

The Popes Charter for the Title of Lancaſt. *Et de jure Belli, &c.* for the diſpenſing with the Kings inceſtuous marriage.

After, for the more cleare reparing and curing all flawes and defects of Titles, the Pope addeth this gracious clauſe; *Supplemuſq; omnes, & ſingulos defectus; tam juris, quam facti, ſi qui interveneriut in regno dicto.*

And then in the end, not in the front, this Bull is intituled, *Pagina confirmationis noſtræ, approbationis, pronunciationis, conſtitutionis, declarationis, ſuppletionis, monitionis, requiſitionis, prohibitionis, Benedictionis, inhibitionis, & excommunicationis, & Anathematizationis in quoſcunque, qui preſumpſerint, infringere, vel auſu temeritatis, contravenire his literis Apoſtolicis.*

For all this muſt be held, and thought to be done *Autoritate Apoſtolica,*

ſtolica, i. by the Authoritie of the Apoſtles, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul.*

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, *De Domo Lancaſtriæ*, and *De Iure Belli*, without any ſeeking or ſolicitation (as wee are led to credit) for there appeareth not any expreſſe ſuit or motion by the King to that purpoſe, though by circumſtances and probabilitie it was preferred under hand, for the other things were but of ſlight requeſt and no neceſſitie, nor obnoxious to any danger; when thoſe two Titles were the preſent markes, his aime was ſtrongly and mainly directed to. Though I muſt confeſſe, after a while, he was as lightly ſatisfied in theſe (notwithſtanding the Popes thunder and lightning, added to them,) as in the Titles of Yorke and Lancaſter, which he diſcovered, and not obſcurely, when he moved the Eſtates in his firſt Parliament, to grant an Eſtate Hereditary and entail'd of the Crowne and Kingdome, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heires of his body: beyond this he could not require much, nor they give, which was unanimouſly condiſcended unto, as a gift of a new Title confirmed by their Act; the Copy whereof I have tranſcribed (where I come to rehearſe the Titles of our Soveraigne Lord the *King* that now is.) Nor is the Devination of this peece ſo darke, but that the cauſe may be gueſſed at, why he held himſelfe not ſafe in the Titles of Yorke and Lanacſter, of Beaufort and Somerſet already toucht at, but may fall more ſeaſonably elſewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with Hiſtorologies, and preſenting matters out of their time and place; my purpoſe onely being, to take ſo much light from the Story of *Henry* the ſeventh as ſhall but properly conduce to the true ſhadowing and proportioning of *King Richards*, being neceſſarily inforced to inculcate ſuch matters as may ſeeme of no preſent concluſion; yet looſing their obſervation, wee ſhall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the credit and honour of *King Richard* and his Actions: To which, according to the Order and Affaires of time, I am now to come againe.

The ſecond invaſion of the E. of Rich.

And here, upon our accompt, wee ſhall find it neare upon tenne months ſince the Duke of Buckingham was ſuppreſſed, and the Earl of Richmond driven from Poole with the ſtorme, who was now againe very buſie raiſing freſh preparations in France, and *King Richard* upon the intelligence, as ſtickling to Levy Souldiers, and reinforce all his Havens and Frontier places. But the Earle of Richmond found it not ſo eaſie a matter now as at firſt, to draw a party and concurrence from France, having ſped ſo ill in his former undertakings, which indeed ſtruck a great diſcouragement in the expectation of all his Favourers, and made his welcome the colder to the Duke of Brittaine; the rather alſo, becauſe he had beene with the French *King* before he came to him, which was taken but ill, although the Earle could not otherwiſe doe, being forc't upon the Coaſts of Normandy; And comming into the Road at Deipe landed, to refreſh

freſh himſelf and company: From thence he intended to Roan, which being ſo neare Paris, ingaged him thither to the King, being (as *Philip de Comines* ſaith, followed in a very honourable Port by 500 Engliſhmen) In his ſtay there (to ſhew us how much intereſt a provident and active ſpirit hath in fortune) he ſo heightned and ſweetned his behaviour to the Court, as conciliated the favour and reſpect of the Greateſt and Nobleſt Perſons to him. But moſt happily, the faire opinion and eſteeme of the Princely Lady *Anne de France*, eldeſt Siſter to King *Charles* the eight, who had ſuch an influence upon him in his minoritie, that ſhe out-pitched *Lewis* Duke of Orleance, chiefe Prince of the Blood. In envy or miſ-like whereof, he tooke Armes, and rayſed a Civill Warre in France (as *Iohn Tillet* and others write) ſhe was wife to *Pierce de Bourbon* Lord of Beaujen, after Duke *de Bourbon*, but Beaujen being his moſt ſtately and honourable Signiory, he was called *Mounſieur de Beaujen*; and this Lady had ſo flexible an inclination to the Earle of Richmonds Cauſe, that ſhe importuned the King to aide him with a good ſumme of mony and 3000 men, but odde fellowes. For *Philip de Comines* ſaith, they were *trois' mille hommes les plus meſchants que lux peut trouver*, no better then Rogues and Trewans, men of baſe qualitie and as low courage. Whilſt theſe were Levying, the Earle (thriftie of all opportunities, and as diligent to adde what advantage of time and ayde he could) viſits the Duke of Brittaine to the ſame purpoſe. The Duke propounds it to his Councell, which *Peter Landois*, his Treaſurer and chiefe Counſellour objects againſt, with this reaſon, That if the Enterpize ſucceeded well, yet the event muſt fall out unhappily and ill to him, the Earle having now intereſted himſelf to the favour and aſſiſtance of *Charles* King of France: And this would be the firſt linke of ſo ſtrong an ingagement, that the Earle and his Confederacy muſt be loſt to Brittaine when he came to be King, being reſpectively tyed to lend the King of France ayde againſt them, if any cauſe ſhould happen, which the King of France had a prepared ſtomack for, and had not beene nice to ſeeke any provocation that might countenance a Quarrell againſt the Dutchy of Brittaine, which was beyond his ſpanne, ſo long as they continued in League with England; that being untwiſted, and France and England Contracted, how eaſie was it for the French to envade and ſwallow up both him and his Dukedome. To make the preſent advantage (therefore) as profitable, as ſafe, his advice was to ſtay the Earle; the Duke knowing his Coffers at that time very lanke, and that the King of England would offer well for him, approved the Counſell, and reſolved to be led by *Landois* (whoſe reſpects (notwithſtanding) were very affectionate to the Earle) But whether by the ſecret caution of ſome friends, or ſuggeſted to him by his better *genius*, Sure it is, by ſome unknowne meanes he had knowledge of it; and yet this was determined but at night, and deſigned for the morning; But before midnight, or the knowledge of their flight, he and twelve Gentlemen his followers, had left Vannes, and recovered

Comines pag. 536.

Aniow (under the French *Kings* protection) from thence to the French Court againe, the *King* being still very pliable and constant to his promise concerning those French forces under his owne charge. The next thing he works at, is how to enlarge the Earl of Oxford out of the Castle of Hammes, committed thither by *Edward* the fourth (and in this he uses, or rather followed indeed) the contrivement of Doctor *Morton*, who held good quarter with the Earle of Oxford, and by his frequent visits, had a familiar and easie doore open'd, which the Earl readily tooke the opportunitie of, least it might be shut againe by some miscarriage, for Richmond thought or found the constitution of his Designe not a little strengthned by the Earle of Oxfords confederacy: nor did he mistake himselfe in his accompt, when he set him downe of speciall use, knowing him a man of an eminent power; wisely and valiantly temper'd: And to give him the stronger presumptions and confidence) one that most mortally hated *Edward* the fourth, and all the house of Yorke: To begin therefore an Obligation, the Earle of Richmond makes a Complementall journey to Hammes, where the Earle of Oxford was then, under the charge of Sir *Iames Blound*; He finds all honourable and respective entertainment with fit libertie, and occasion to propound himselfe unto the Earle, who had beene partly prepar'd by Doctor *Morton*, and therefore met him the neareſt way, engaging himselfe solely to the premises, and (by vertue of an indefatigable confidence) sets upon his *Keeper*, winnes him to the Faction, and to Paris with them. By which time, all preparations were in readinesse; and whilst they make this stay in the French Court, the Earle of Richmond receives a faire excuse and protestation from the Duke of Brittaine, with offer of Auxiliary Forces: This supply came very acceptably, and however he resented the Dukes late purpose upon him, his wisedome told him, he must now convert his anger into thanks, which he returns with a reciprocall Protestation and Order, to send the Troopes to Harflew where his Shipping lay, and was the Rendezvous for his Souldiers.

In the end of July 1485. he tooke leave of the *King* and his most Noble Cousin Madam *de Beaujen*, departing for the Port of Harflew in Normandy, where he met with two thousand Brittaines from the Duke honourably accommodated. But by the way he made some stay at Roven, and had newes which much distemper'd him, That the Lady *Elizabeth* was forthwith to be married to *King Richard*, this quickned his haſt for England, presuming, his landing would forbid the Banes, otherwise he might sit downe with folded hands, for upon this marriage insisted the maine hope and consequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great prætexts would faint, yet seemed to heare it, as a thing that could not concerne him so much, having so present and provident a wit, that in any chance he wanted not Councell and determination in himselfe for all Fortunes; instantly resolving, to apply his suit to her Sister the Lady *Cecily*: But

but ere he could perfectly fashion these intents, they were also counterchecked, by the next packet, which assured him the Lady *Cecily* was lately married: neither did that (after some Collection) seeme much to discompose him, but quickely, varying his disposition to his fortune, he would now fixe himselfe upon some choice in Brittaine, Amongst his nobler friends (for the most part Welsh-men) and treates about a Daughter of Sir *William Herberts*, a Gentleman of a Noble Allyance and principall power in the South part of Wales: who had married the Eldest Daughter not long before to the Earle of Northumberland, to whom the Earle of Pembrooke (by a new created friendship betwixt them) imbosomes the whole designe, and presses his Comprobation in it; for by this meanes it was presumed, the greatest part of Wales would fall under their Command: which had been no small addition to a Banished mans fortune. Whilst those things were in their mould, Doctor *Morton* gave him such assurance (by Letters) of the Countries readinesse to receive him, that it was thought best to take the advantage of landing there, and in the Month of July, they loose from Harfleu, and safely arived at Milford Haven in Pembrookeshire, his native Country: after some refreshing, he Marches to a Town called Haverford West, and was entring amongst his Brittish kindred, who welcomed him as a Prince, descended from their ancient Princes of Wales, (the Country generally very Noble and loving to their friends); whilst he continued amongst them, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Walter Herbert*, Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* (who drew his young Nephew the Earle of Salop into this Action with him) and divers others of all qualities, brought, or sent their Forces, his Army thus strong and united, he passes the Severne, and Marches to Lichfield, purposing to hold on to London, if the King had not interposed it, who, though he lay at Nottingham when the Earle landed, and while he marched through Wales, had constant Spies upon him. But as no Policie, or Law can secure their faith, that thinke they may dispense with it, so all Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition and Ingratitude urges merit; and to shew there is not much of our Fate in our own providence, when this King thought the Nobility most firmly cimented to his side, and was to put himself upon their constancy, they make a present and generall defluxion to the other; But he had heightned and contracted his Resolution and judgement, to the greatnesse of his Cause, and was not now to be outbid by Chance, or danger: The next day (which was Sunday about Evening) passing through Leicester in open Pompe, the Crowne Royall on his head, with him *John* Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, the Earle of Surrey, the Earle of Westmorland, the Viscount *Lovell*, and other of the Nobility and Gentry at Redmore Heath, the Armies came to an Interview, and put themselves in Array; the next morning early, there was some conference held in the Kings Tent, by these Peeres and others of principall trust, who gave him particular information of all those, secretly revolted; and it much amazed him the

Leicest. inquit, Rex Richardus, cum maxima Pompa portans diadema, in capite. Chron. Croy.

Earle of Northumberland was one, to whom he had ever been most constant and forward in his respects and favours; therefore, where he had conferred so much, he suspected little. But no Obligations are Religious, if not held so: and although in the conflict he stood but as neutrall, yet the suddainesse and example of it, drew many from the King, even at the instant, when he was ready to Arme himselfe, yet this was not of so great and sensible amazement unto him, as the Lord *Stanleys* defection, who in pledge of his faith, had left his Son *George Stanley*, whilst his wife (the Earles mother) had made her subtill perswasions of stronger tye, and subinduced him to the Lancastrian side, which he ayded with 26000, men, if *Phillip de Commines* be not mistaken: for our stories have but five thousand. But it was a very great defection, and made the Earles Army far stronger, so that the chiefest point of Consultation now, was how to preserve him by flight, and the recovery of some strong hold, untill the tempest had scattered, or spent its violence, which they conceived covld not be long, if the Campe brake up, and once dissolved. But no Argument could fasten on him, though the benefit of a swift Horse was offered at his Tent doore, nor the fatality and portent of Prodigies, related by his friends, as presaging some inevitable Calamity, and that Propheticall Prediction.

Jack of Norfolke be not too bold,
For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.

These things aggravated, the weakenesse of his Army objected, Counsels, Perswasions, Terrours, Prodigies, Propheties, could not make him heare, so fatally resolute he stood in the jealousie and reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily protesting he would rather adventure Life, Crowne, and Fortunes, than his honour to a cowardly and sinister construction; this might taste of a desperate will, if he had not afterwards given an apodixis in the battaile, upon what plat-forme he had projected and raised that hope, which as it had much of danger in it, so of an inconcusse and great resolution, and might have brought the odds of that day to an even bet, for knowing the Earle to be thirsty and Appetent after Glory and Renowne, but of an unpractised skill in Warre, and as inferiour in courage to him, he had projected (in manner of Stratagem) so soone as the Armies approached ready for the Charge, to advance himselfe before his Troopes, and give the Earle, being Generall of his Forces, the signall of a Combate. And to provoke and single him with a more glorious invitation, he wore the Crowne Royall upon his head, the fairest marke for Valour and Ambition; *Polidore* saies he wore it, thinking that day should either be the last of his life, or the first of a better, which may aswell be a reason of his wearing it three daies before at Leicester, when he rode from thence to Bolworth. But doubtlesse, by it he intended chiefly, that the people might see & know him to be their

Why K. *Rich.* wore the Crowne at Bosworth.

King:

King: and thoſe that ſtood Armed againſt him, looking upon that Imperiall evidence, where their own hands and voyces had ſet it, ſhould by the awe and Soveraignty of it, conſider how lately they had avowed him their Lawfull *King*, and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegeances, they ſtood ſolemnly bound to defend him and his Title in it, againſt all other: what ever was his myſtery, it rendred him a valiant and confident Maſter of his Right; and in the conſtancy of hope and reſolution, he gives order for the Battaile: The Armies confronted, and whilſt the Alarme, and every blow, began to be hot and furious, forth breakes *King Richard* towards the Earle, waſting him by a ſignall, who ſeemed readily to accept it, and pricking his Horſe forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompted their Spirits, and Ambition: for a good Author teſtifieth that *Comes Richmondiæ directe ſuper Regem Ricardum, &c.* But his cariere ſoone faltred, and *Mars* became Retrograde, it being but a nimble traine, to draw the *King* on to ſome diſadvantages, or elſe he liked not his furious approach, for ſuddenly he makes a halt, and with as much credit as he could (& no harme) recovered the Vanguard of his Army, whither *Richard* purſued him, with ſo much ſpeed and fierceneſſe, that he forc't him to his Standard. And now, high in bloud and anger (to ſee his Valour deluded by ſuch a politicke Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his owne hand ſlew Sir *Charles Brandon* Standerd-Bearer, thinking to have made the next blow as fatall to the Earle, but the confluence of Souldiers interjecting, reſcued him, Sir *Iohn Cheney* being one of the foremoſt, whom the *King* ſtroke from his Horſe to the Earth: But Charged and invironed, with multitudes (that like a ſtorme came on him) Valiant *Richard* falls, the Sacrifice of that day, under their cruell Swords, ſo rabious in their execution, as if his body muſt ſuffer more, becauſe they could not kill his better part, mangling and wounding his dead Corps, whilſt it lies drentcht in gore.

Chron. *Croy.*

S. *Wil. Brandon* Father to *Charles Brandon*, afterward Duke of *Suff.*

Et Lupus, & turpes inſtant morientibus urſi,
Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera eſt.

Ovid. trift. l. 2. Eleg. 5.

As Currs in their kenells will bite and teare the skin of thoſe beaſts which in the fields they durſt not barke at:

Occidit in bello miſeranda cade Richardus,
Crinibus attractus, dum ferro ſævit hoſtis.

Dr *Iohn Hird. in Hiſt. Angl.*

And after all (to compleate their barbariſme) threw his body behind one upon a Jade, and ſo conveyed it to Leiceſter. A ſtory to be thought incredible, at leaſt to charitable and modeſt eares, and highly upbraided by the happier and Chriſtian fame of *William* the Conquerour, who ſeverely puniſhed a Souldier, but for hacking the thigh of *King Harold* after he was dead, though an Uſurper and his perfidious enemy; with all nobleneſſe cauſing the body to be deli-

vered

Mathew Paris Henry Huntington.

vered to his Mother for an honourable interment, which was ſolemnly celebrated in his own Abbey at Waltham.

Henry of Richmond Crowned in the Feild.

The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was Crowned in the field, with that Crown *K. Rich.* wore, which the L. *Stanley* put upon his head, & ſalutes him *King*, by the ſtile of *Hen.* 7. *K.* of England, &c. And *Henry* Earle of Richmond, Son of *Edmund ap Meredith ap Tudor* (alias of Hadham) Earle of Richmond, and of *Margaret* Daughter and Heire of *Iohn Beaufort* Duke of Sommerſet, attained to the Crowne, and had the eaſier aſcent by the overſight and remiſſineſſe of *Richard*, in that Cataſtrophe of his Raign, who gave too much opportunity and ſcope to the actings of his Enemies, when they were under his power, and arme. And in the Fortune of his judgment (at the cloſing Scene) that did not better preſuppoſe his Enemy too prudent, and reſerved to truſt the advantage he had, upon ſo ſharpe and ſingle an hazzard; But *Richard* beleeving he had the odds in courage and monomachie of him, which probably might make him Maſter of the Combate, and ſo of the Field, (the ſtraite being ſo deſperate too) reſolved rather to truſt to the Fate of his owne Valour, then the chance of an uncertaine eſcape; a reſolution not ſo raſh and overweening, as commendable, if we looke upon the very aymes and neceſſity of it, neither is it new or improper for Princes to demand the tryall of campe fight, or ſingle Combate, perſonaly in their Armies, and to the Generals in their abſence; *William* the Conquerour challenged King *Harold*; Before that, a Combate was fought betweene *Edmund Ironſide*, and *Canute* the Daniſh King, for the whole Kingdome of England; our *Richard* the firſt, and *Edward* the firſt, in Paleſtine proffered the like to ſome of the Pagan Princes; ſo did *Edward* the third, *Henry* the fifth, with the Kings of France:

The Challeng of the 5 King of Scots to *Tho.* Duke of Norfolke.

In the laſt Age, the valiant Prince, *Iames* the fifth of Scotland, in Perſon challenged *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Duke of Norfolke, Generall for the *King* of England, who accepted it; But the King into his Demands, would have the Country or Lands then in Controverſie, to be made *Brabium victoris*, which was without the Generalls power to engage, being the Inheritance of the *King* his Maſter, but proffers better Lands of his owne upon the Combate, which was not accepted, ſo that concluded nothing.

The better end of theſe Challenges and Combates, being at firſt, levelled from Mercy, and Piety, for by this ſingle adventure, the Innocent bloud of Armies was (more then ſtanched) preſerved; Forraigne Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generalls in the like examples, which this Age draws a Curtaine before, as not fit for imitation, making too deſperate a wound in a ſetled State and Succeſſion; the (firſt who rendred that or ſome more Politike reaſon) for Princes not to adventure themſelves, was *Phi.* the 2 K. of Spain, (as a late writer aſcribeth) but is miſtaken: For the more ancient Hiſtories of Syria and Perſia, mentions ſome Kings that refrain'd from Warres long before; as *Herodotus*, *Diodo-*

Princes go not to Campe.

rus

rus, *Tragus Pompeius* tells us. But let us take measure from that Times, Wisedome, Valour, Policy, &c. to this, and wee shall find them but tottering foundations of States which cannot uphold themselves, or obvert the least Decree of God when he intends to scourge or alter kingdomes; for where such vicissitudes are destin'd the Councells and faculties of men must be darkned, and there with fall out all concurrences and advantages to further that purpose. So in the extirpation and transferring of Families, the Potter in *Jeremy*, breaking one Jarre to make another, whose fatall commutations should extimulate the pietie of our natures, and make us modest censurers of their events. For as wee see things but through a Cloud, whilst wee measure them by accidents, so wee intrude on Gods providence, judging mens actions in their successe, while wee over-act our owne. Of such a composition was the ill-wishers of King *Richard*, who forgot him not in his grave, but indeavoured to be equally cruell to his memory: And in November following a Parliament was holden, in which he was attainted of High Treason; a straine very high to make him guiltie of that, being a King, he could not commit. By the same figure may others, who were stiled chiefe ayders and assistants of King *Richard* in the Battaile of Bosworth, as Sir *John Howard* Duke of Norfolke, &c. though some would have him retired from the Court all King *Richards* raigne. But Sir *Thomas Moore* affirmes, He was constantly with him and neare his Counsells, Sir *Thomas Howard* Earle of Surrey, Sonne and heire apparent to the Duke; *Francis Lovel*, Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrers* of Chartley, Sir *John de la Souch*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Berkley*, *William Catesby*, *Thomas Broughton*, *John Buck*, *Humphrey Stafford*, *Robert Midleton*, *Robert Brokenbury*, *Iohn Kendall*, Secretary to the King; *Walter Hopton*, *Ieoffry Saint-German*, *Roger Wake*, *Thomas Bilkington*, *William Sapcoate*, *William Brampton*, all Knights, and some Heralds at Armes, with divers other; an Act of Parliament being made, to disable and forejudge them of all manner of Honour, State, Dignitie; Also to forfeit all Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Advowsons, Priviledges, Nominations, Presentations, Tenements, Rents, Suits, Reversions, Portions, Annuities, Pensions, Rights, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattells, and Debts. These be the words of the Act, and if *jus*, then *jus summum* in all extremity.

Cruelties done to the body of King *Richard*.

Noble Persons attainted by Parliament.

Sir *Tho. Moor.*

Parliament *ann. 1. H. 7.*

Those of note that were taken, lost their heads at Leicester two dayes after, being Saint *Bartholmews* day, and had a glimpse like that *Bartholmew* in France in our time; all such slaughters from thence call'd *Bartelmies*, and *Bartelemies*, simply in a perpetuall Stigma of that Butchery.

The Duke of Norfolk slain by the Earl of Oxenford.

It is suggested, the Duke of Norfolke was slaine in the Battaile by the Earle of Oxford, and the Story of *Croyland* seemeth to say as much; *Comes Oxoniæ valentissimus miles in eam alam ubi Dux Norfol-*

ciæ

ciæ constitutus erat in agro (de Redmore) tum Gallicorum tum Anglicorum militum Comitatu stipatus tetendit, &c.

The Earle of Surrey escapeth at Bosworth.

Amongst those that escaped the sad destiny of that day, was the Earle of Surrey, Sir *Thomas Howard*, Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Stafford*, and his Brother *N. Stafford*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Forraigne Countries and Sanctuaries, obscuring themselves till the storme and smart of that dayes memory were past. But some would maintain *Thomas* Earl of Surrey to be one of them that submitted to the new *King* at Bosworth immediately after the overthrow which must not be believed, if wee understand the composition of those times & affairs: for certaine it is, the Earl Richmond had peremptorily proscribed all those he had cause to feare or hate, whose names are partly in the Rowles, kept in the Chappell of the Convertites in Chancery-Lane, and partly omitted by the Scribes.

Now the Earle of Surrey, of all the rest, was so terrible and distastefull to him, there could be no excuse left for his life. And therefore let no man thinke he was taken or submitted, but tooke an happier season some moneths after. The Relation and truth is (by the warrant of one that well knew him, and the inter-passage of his Fortune) the Earle opportunely left the Field, but so wounded, that faintnesse and night constrain'd him to the house of a Gentleman not farre from Nottingham, and one that bare a faithfull respect to the Earle and his Family untill he was well recovered. In the meane time, that terrible Parliament held in the next November was concluded, and the *Kings* desires reasonably well appeased, in seeing the execution of his new Lawes past upon some of them. After which, (some small distance of time) followed a gracious pardon to all the offenders in that Cause, which proffered mercy, this Earle layd hold on, hoping to restore himselfe (by his submission) his offence, considered, being but an Act of Loyaltie to his Master. But this confidence sent him to the Tower, for though the violence of the storme appear'd well calm'd, yet the *King* retain'd some heavings of it in his thoughts: And this Imprisonment continued from his first yeare of raigne unto the fourth; and towards the beginning of that, being in the Tower with the Queene *Elizabeth* (to whom he was shortly after to be married) he tooke occasion to call for the Earle, (bearing still a gust of the same tempest in his brow) and challenged him upon the old quarrell, his service to the late Usurper & Tyrant, (as he usually termed *King Richard*) the Earle humbly moved his pardon, and more favourable consideration to the nature of his offence, which thousands more conceived to be but a due effect of their Liege duties, and Allegiance to a Prince so lawfully, and with all generall sufferance Crowned, whose Title he held himselfe bound to defend by the law of God and Nations, and would dye in defence of him and that Crowne, though he should find it upon a Stake: The *King* left him with a sterne and ruffling reply, but in cold blood

better

better acknowledged his integritie, and thought he would come of no leſſe value to him, having the advantage to merit him by his pardon, which ſoone after he granted him; nor did the Earle looſe ought of that opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privie Councell, then Lieutenant or Governour of the North, and Generall againſt the Scots, whom he overthrew; as fatall was he to them at Flodden field, where he tooke their King in the time of *Henry* the eight, who made him High Marſhall and Treaſurer of England, and reſtor'd him to his Fathers Dukedome, the Inheritance of his Grand-mother *Mowbray*, being a man of ſuch a happy direction in his carriage and wiſedome, that all his Actions came home with proſperous ſucceſſe, and accumulated what was ſometime ſpoken of his great Anceſtour *Hewardus*, of whom it was queſtioned, *Virum felicior an fortior eſſet*, ſo Fortunate and Honourable hath that houſe beene in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognation, it holds with the moſt Ancient Families, the Extractions and propagations from *Mowbray*, *Warren*, *Bruce*, *Dalbery*, *Marſhall*, *Segrave*, *Plantagenet*, *Brotherton*, *Bigot*, *Fitz-Alan*, *Mataver*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, and *Ducres*. The Father of which *Howard*, was *Leofrick* Lord of Burne, and the adjacent Countrey in Lincolneſhire; his Mother was the Lady *Edina*, deſcended from the great *Oſlac*, a Duke amongſt the Eaſterlings in King *Edgars* time: In whoſe Family, I alſo find a Noble Kinſman of his called *Haward* (to note obiter) This *Haward* was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Perſonage, anſwer'd with an equall Strength and Valour; *Et nimium Bellicoſus*, much, or too much devoted to *Mars*. He ſerved in the Warres of Northumberland, Cornewall and Ireland; and after in the lower Germany, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a faire Lady called *Turfrida*, the Daughter of a Noble man in Flanders, where he continued untill the death of his Father called him home. About which time, *William* Duke of Normandy made his Conqueſt of this Kingdome, and had gratified *Iohannes Talbois* the French Counte, now Earle of Holland, with *Leoffricks* Countrey of Holland, in the Marſhand; and the Counte very rudely had expuls'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Poſſeſſions and Dower. *Hawardus* ſet upon him with ſuch forces as he could ſpeedily rayſe, tooke, and held him priſoner, in deſpight of the Conquerour, untill he redeem'd himſelfe, and accompted for what he had done with a large ſumme of money. This drew thoſe of the Nobility to the protection of his ſword, which the Conquerour had chaſed out of their Countrey, who had fortified themſelves in the Iſle of Ely, and made *Hawardus* their Generall, where he built a Caſtle that a long time after had his name. But the Normans tooke that advantage to infeſt his Countrey, and put him againe to the recovery of it, which he ſo fortunately ſeeled, that the Conquerour was contented to make him his, and hold him in good favour whilſt he lived. He was buried in the Abbey of Croyland; Concerning his Iſſue by the the Lady *Turfrida*, there is mention

Scots overthrown by the E. of Surrey.

Jugulſus.

Lib. Elienſis.

onely of a Daughter named *Turfrida*, married to *Hugo Enermua*, Lord of Deeping: But circumstance will perswade us, he had other Issue, if wee consider him in the likelyhood of his strength and abilitie, and that divers continued of his Sir-name in that Countrey a-long time after him, which makes it probable, he had a naturall Son, (at least, bearing his owne name of *Heward*) that next to him was the Originall Ancestor of this house of *Howards*. And let it not be thought any disparagement, for a Noble Family to be raysed from a naturall Issue; for many Princely Families have beene derived and propagated from naturall Sonnes, as was *Eneas*, *Romulus*, the Founders of the Roman Families; so was *Theseus* and *Themistocles*, as *Plutarch* writeth; others say as much of *Hercules*, *&c.*

The honour of Bastards.

Homer.
Livy.

The King of Spaine descended from *Henry de Trastamara*, base sonne of *Alphonsus* the Justicer, King of Castile. And who doth not honour the Princely Race of *William* the Conquerour, Bastard son to the Duke of Normandy? where was a more Heroicall man then *Robert* Earle of Gloceſter, base sonne of *King Henry* the first? The Earles of Warren descended from *Hamelin*, a base sonne of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earle of Aniow: The Noble *Herberts* are also said, to come from a base sonne of *Henry* the first.

And the Duke and Earles of Somerset (which followed the Red Rose) were the Off-spring of the *Beauforts*, naturall sonnes of *Iohn de Gaunt*.

For a further conjecture, why these *Howards* must be descended from *Hewardus* or *Herewardus* (for so some Writers call him; but *Iugulfus*, who best knew him, constantly calls him *Hewardus*) both names may signifie in the Saxon or old Dutch, a chiefe Captaine of an Army, whom the Romans call'd *Imperator*.) And that the Titles and names of great Offices have given Sir-manes to many Noble Families, wee have examples in plentie; Particularly the *Visconti* of Millan, the *Chamberlaines* of Normandy, the *Stewards* of Scotland, the *Butlers* of Ireland, and divers others, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Ancestours and Fathers; and the same presumption or argument may be for taking the Sir-name of *Howard*, and the Origine of their Family from *Hewardus*, the *Howards* from the time of *Heward*, dwelling in these Countries of Holland and Marshland, and were Lords of some Lands belonging to him, untill by their matches, with the Daughters and Heires of *Fitton*, *Tendring*, *Mawbray*, *Tilney*, *&c.* they became possessed in Norfolke, Suffolke, and Berkeshire, and were Lords sometime of Sunning-hill neare Windsor, and bore the Sir-name ever since (or with small interruption) the old Sir-name written *Heward*, or *Hereward* in Charters and Records, and *Howard* in Stories. But descend wee through the succession of those times to *William Haward*, Chiefe Justice in the Raigne of *Edward* the first; Grand-father to *Sir Iohn Howard*, Admirall of the North Fleet, in the Navall Warres of *Edward* the third; his Sonne *Sir Robert Howard* married the Daughter of the

Lord

Lord *Scales*, and Sir *Iohn Howard* (who lived in the time of *Henry* the fourth, and dyed *Anno* 16. *Henry* the ſixt) had two Wives; *Margaret* Daughter and Heire of Sir *Iohn Plais* Knight, by whom hee had *Eliza*: an onely Daughter, married to *Iohn de Vere* Earle of Oxford, who brought him a goodly part of the *Howards* Lands: Her Heires were married to *Latimer* and *Winckfield*, very fruitfull Families. His ſecond Wife was the Daughter and heire of Sir *William Tendering* of Stoke-Nayland in Suffolke, by whom he had Sir *Robert Howard* his eldeſt Sonne; who married *Margaret Mowbray*, Daughter of a *Cadet* of the houſe of Lancaſter, who became Co-heire with her Siſter the Lady *Berkely*, Wife to *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, dead in Venice, and left his Sonne *Henry Haward* heire to *Haward* and *Mowbray*; and *Iohn Howard*, the ſonne of *Iohn Howard*, was created Earle of Norfolke by King *Richard* the third, in the right of his Mother *Mowbray*, he married the Daughter of the Lord *Moulines*, and by her had *Thomas Howard*, the firſt *Howard* Earle of Surrey; this is he who ſurvived the danger of Boſworth Field, and became afterwards Duke of Norfolke, from whom all the *Howards* now living are deſcended, whoſe Family hath beene ſo fruitfull to furniſh this Kingdome with foure Dukes, many Earles, Viſcounts, and Barons, three high Treaſurers, ſix high or great Marſhalls, tenne high Admiralls, with ſome honourable Cuſtos of the Privie Seale, and ſundry Chamberlaines of the Kings houſe; and one lately lived who had borne the Offices of high Conſtable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord high Steward, Marſhall and Admirall of England, Lord Chiefe Juſtice in *Oyer* of the better part of this Kingdome; and Chamberlaine of the Royall houſe, a man honourable in his deportments, and fortunate in his undertakings; as at the great Marine Battells againſt all the Navall powers of Spaine, the Pope, and Princes of Italy, *Anno Domini* 1588. and in the ſiege of Gadys, *Anno Domini* 1596.

Sir *Charles Howard.*

And this is the Grand-child of that *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, who for his better diſtinction and perpetuall honour is ſtiled *Triumphator Scotorum*.

Camden in Octad.

I have ſtrayed into this digreſſion, as a gratefull tender of an acknowledgement I owe to that Illuſtrious Family, for their Nobie Patronage aud Favour to my Anceſtors, eſpecially to that unfortunate Bucke and his Children, who withered with the White Roſe, (bearing an Ancient and Hereditary love to the Houſe of Yorke, and ſtood in good Credit and Favour with the King his Maſter) nor let this remembrance of him, and his obſcured Family, ſeeme oſtentation or vaine-glory, whilſt I ſay no more then what other Hiſtorians dictate, which give him an able Character. Maſter *Camden Clarentius* (in his Immortall Brittannia,) deriveth this Sir *Iohn Bucke*, from Sir *Walter de Bucke* of Brabant, and Elanders, who had that Sir-name of great Antiquity from the Caſtle *de Bucke* in Liſle, a City and Frontire Towne in Flanders, where the Ancient Earles were

Camd. in Oct.

Lodow. Guicci. du Paef. Baeff. The Ancientry of Buck.

M. Paris. M. Weſtminſt. Radulphus de Cogeſhall. Tho. Walſing.

accuſtomed much to reſide, the ruines of this Caſtle remained in the late time of *Lodwicke Guiecciardine*, who ſaith, he ſaw the Carcaſſe thereof: And this *Walter Bucke* was a Cadet of the Houſe of Flanders, employed and ſent by the Prince (then Duke of Brabant, and Earle of Flanders) to King *Iohn*, with Auxiliary Troopes: *Roger Wondover* ſaith, *Walter Bucke*, *Gerard de Scottigni*, and *Godeſcalius*, *venerunt in Angliam cum tribus legionibus Flandrenſium & Brabantianorum militum, &c.* and he did the King excellent ſervice here (as many of our Hiſtorians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him with Lands in Yorkeſhire, and Northampton ſhire: And in Yorkeſhire (where he made his Seat) he found an Ancient Family of the Sirname of *Bucke* of Bucton, in the Wapentake of *Bucroſſe*, where that Family had anciently been, (for the name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and ſignifieth a Beech Tree, or Beech Wood) here *Walter* contracted alliance, and Married *Ralph de Bucke* his Eldeſt Sonne, to the Daughter and Heire of *Gocelinus de Bucke*, Grandchild to *Radolphus de Bucke*, who was a part Founder and Benefactour, to the Abbey of *Bredlington*, (as is mentioned in the Charter of *Henry* the firſt, made for the foundation of that Monaſtery) and from this *Walter*, deſcended *Iohn Bucke* Knight, who married a *Strelley*, and was ſo conſtant in his Affection, that (although ſhe dyed in his beſt Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the Rhodes, his Armes are yet to be ſeene in the Ruines of the Hoſpitall of Saint *Iohns* neare Smithfield, and in the Church of Alhallows at the upper end of Lumbard Street, which was repaired and enlarged with the Stones brought from that demoliſhed Cænoby: he lived, *ſub rege Edwardo filio Regis Henrici*: as I have ſeene by the date of his deed in *Herthill*, *Anno* 1 *Ed.* 1. *& Anno* 22. *Ed.* 1.

From this Knight of the Rhodes deſcended Sir *Iohn Bucke*, who for his too much forwardneſſe in charging a Fleet of Spaniards (without the leave of the Earle of Arundell Lord Admirall) was committed to the Tower, (teſtified by the Records there) *Anno* 13. *Richard* the ſecond, *Laurence Buck* his Son, followed *Edward Plantagenet* Duke of Yorke, and was at the Battel of Agincourt with him, when he was ſlaine: *Iohn Bucke* Knight, the Sonne of this *Laurence*, married a Daughter and Heire of the Houſe of *Staveley*, out of which are deſcended the Barons Parres of Kendall and Roſſe, Queene *Katherine* (the laſt wife of King *Henry* the eighth) the Lord Parre Marqueſſe of Northampton, and the *Herberts* Earles of Pembrooke and Montgomery.

Theſe *Bucks* reſiding for the moſt part at Weſt-Stanton, and Herthill in Yorkeſhire, and matched into the Families of *Strelley* or *Stinely* of Woodhall, *Thorpe*, *Tilney*, (then of Lincolnſhire) and *Savill*, by which we have much Noble kindred; Sir *Iohn Bucke* for his ſervice to the Houſe of Yorke, eſpecially at Boſworth, loſt his head at Leiceſter, he married the Daughter of *Henry Savill*, by whom he had *Robert Bucke* and other Children, who were brought into the South-

Southerne parts by *Thomas* Duke of Norfolke, where they have remained ever ſince; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miſerable eſtate by the Attainder of their Father; But the Duke beſtowed two Daughters in marriage, one with the Heire of Buck, The other, with the Heire of *Fitz-Lewis*, very Ancient Families, from which Matches divers honourable and Noble Perſons are deſcended. The Sonnes were, one a Souldier, the other, a Courtier, the third, a Prieſt; afterward the Duke beſtowed *Robert Bucke*, the Eldeſt Sonne at Melford Hall in Suffolke, and married him into the Families of *Higham* and *Cotton*, as alſo did the *Blounds* of Elwaſton, the *Talbots* of Grafton, from whom the Barons of Monioy, and the late Earles of Shrewsbury deſcended; one of the Daughters of this *Bucke* Married to *Fredericke Tilney* of *Shelley* Hall in Suffolke, his neareſt Kinſman by the Ducheſſe his Mothers ſide) But ſome perhaps, muſt call this my vanity, I ſhall but anſwer them, that I thinke my ſelfe bound (by all the bloud and memory I claime from them,) to pay them my beſt Relations and endeavours, acknowledging with the great Conſulare Philoſopher, *Parentes chariſſimos habere debemus, quod ab ijs vita, patrimonium, libertas, Civitas tradita eſt.* And I ſhould thinke there is none, who hath an intereſt in the quality of Gentile, or Noble, (for all is one) but lookes backe (which ſome delight) to their firſt Commemoration; and finds a ſtrong engagement due to the Vertues and worth of their firſt Fathers, for that expreſſe charge, to honour Father and Mother, is not to be underſtood, only of our Parents ſuperſtits, and living here with us, but our forefathers: that is, beyond our great Grandfather, for we have no proper word for them above that degree (but Anteceſſours, *vulgò* Anceſtours) whom the Romans called *Majores*, and comprehendeth all our Progenitours departed ſooner or later) for the word *Pater* and *Mater*, as alſo, *Parens & Parentes*, extend very largely, and reach up to the higheſt Anceſtours. The Ancient Roman Jurisconſults, deliver in their Law for an Axiome, that *Appellatione Parentum omnes in infinitum majores utriuſque ſexus ſignificantur*; and the word *Parentes* yet ſpreadeth further, comprehending all Kinsfolkes, and Coſins, of our Bloud and Linage, being uſed in that ſenſe, by *Ælius Lampridius*, by *Iulius Capitolinus*, and other the beſt Writers in the times of the declined Empire, as *Iſaac Cauſabonus* hath well obſerved in his Annotations.

The Italians, Spaniſh, and French (whoſe Language is for the moſt part Romanzi (mongrell Latine). and broken and corrupted Romane Language (uſe *Parenti*, *Parentes* and *Parents* for all their Kinsfolkes and Gentilitious Coſins.

We Engliſh-men (being more preciſe) follow the Ancient and Claſſique Latine Writers, holding Parent ſtrictly to the ſimple ſignification of *Pater*, and *Mater*, the preſent and immediate Parents. But the uſing of the word *Parentes*, as thoſe Imperiall Hiſtorians uſe it; ſerveth better for our purpoſe here: And I could (moſt

(most willingly) imitate the Pious Gentlemen of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *France*, in their Religious and Charitable indeavours, to advance the happineſſe of their Parents defunct, if thoſe deſires could beſteed them, But where I ſhould crave pardon, I become more guilty and extravogant, it is time therefore to know good manners, and returne home to our proper taske, which will be, to refell the groſſe and blacke Calumnies, throwne unjuſtly upon the Memory and Perſon of King RICHARD, And falls within the Circle of the next Booke.

Explicit Liber Secundus.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

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THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

THere is no ſtory, that ſhewes the planetary affections and malice of the vulgar more truly then King *Richards*: and what a tickle game Kings have to play with them; though his ſucceſſor *Henry* the ſeventh play'd his providently enough (with helpe of the ſtanders by) yet even thoſe times (which had promiſed the happieſt example of a State, and beſt of a King) both groaned and complained; but had not the ſting and infection of King *Richards* adverſaries who did not onely as the proverbe ſaith, *cum larvis luctare*, contend with his immortall parts, but raked his duſt, to finde and aggravate exceptions in his grave; having learnt their piety from the Comicall Paraſite, *obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, and finding it as well guerdonable as gratefull, to publiſh their Libels and ſcandalous Pamphlets, (a piece of policy and ſervice too) to the times, (and an offence to reſent any thing good of him) they gave their pens more raine and freedome, having a copy ſet by Doctor *Morton*, who had taken his revenge that way, and written a * Booke in *latine*, a-

Erſmus in Chiliad.

Terentius in Adelph.

* This Booke was lately in the hands of Mr. *Roper*, of Eltham, as Sir *Edward Holy* who ſaw it told me.

against King *Richard*, which came afterward to the hands of Mr. *Moore* (sometime his servant) so that here the saying of *Darius*, (which after became a proverbe) hath place

Herodotus.

Hoc Calceamentum consuit Histiæus, induit, autem Aristagoras, Doctor *Morton* (acting the part of *Histiæus*) made the Booke, and Master *Moore* like *Aristagoras* set it forth, amplifying and glossing it, with a purpose to have writ the full story of *Richard* the third (as he intimateth in the title of his Booke;) but it should seeme he found the worke so melancholy and uncharitable, as dul d his disposition to it; for he began it, 1513. when he was Under-sheriffe, or Clerke to one of the Sheriffes of London, and had the intermission of twenty two yeares (which time he tooke up in studies, more naturall to his inclination, as law and poetry,* for in them lay his greatest fancy) to finish it, before he died, (which was in, 1535. but did not, yet lift himselfe so happily into the opinion of men, that his commendations had more fortune then observation:) and past him under the attributes of learning and religion; though in both he came short of what was ascribed to him; for if he understood the Latine and Greeke, (then held great learning) yet was he so farre under the desert of an excellent Scholler, as the learned censured him a man of slender reading, and *Germanus Brixius*, *Irruditus*, *i.* unlearned; for the sanctity of his life, *Iohn Baleus* who tooke not up his knowledge of him an age off, (as some of his admirers,) but from the originall, thus gives us his draught.

* He wrote many Poems and Epigrams, sundry petty Comedies, and Enterludes, often times personating, with the Actors, as his loving and familiar friend *Erasmus* reports.

Brixius Antimore.

Ioan. Baleus de scriptoribus Brit. Cent. 8 cap. 69.

Hoc nos probe novimus qui eramus eidem Thomæ Moro *viciniores, quod pontificum, & pharisæorum crudelitati ex avaritia subserviens omni tyrãno truculentior ferociebat; imo insaniebat in eos qui aut Papæ primatum, aut purgatorium, aut mortuorum invocationes, aut imaginum cultus aut simile quiddam diabolicarum imposturarum negabant, a vivifica Dei veritate ita edocti. Consentire hic Harpagus noluit ut Rex Christianus in suo Regno primus esset, nec quod ei liceret cum Davide, Salomone, Iosaphato, Ezechia, & Iosia sacerdotes, & Levitas rejectâ Romanensium Nembrodorum tyrannide in proprio ordinare dominio &c.*

Adding the attribute of *tenebrio*, of *veritatis evangelicæ perversissimus osor*, of *obstinatus Calophanta*, of *impudens Christi adversarius*; and saith of his end that *decollatus fuit in Turre Londinensi sexto die Julij Anno Dom.* 1535. *Capite ad magnum Londini pontem (ut proditoribus fieri solet) stipiti imposito, & nihilominus a Papistis pro novo Martyre colitur.*

Richard Grafton saith he died mocking and scoffing as he lived.

Thus he became a Martyr and a Saint; but we shall finde other cause of his condemnation by his owne testimony; for when he stood at the Barre arraigned, some exceptions having been urg'd against him, for seeming to uphold and maintaine the Popes supremacy in England, his reply was, he could not

not ſee *quomodo laicus vel ſecularis homo poſſit vel debeat eſſe caput ſtatus ſpiritualis aut eccleſiaſtici*; yet inſinuated, that this opinion was taken hold off but for a pretext to ſupplant him; the greateſt cauſe of the Kings diſpleaſure being for his withſtanding the divorce, between him and *Katharine* of Caſtile his wife, and his ſecond marriage with the Lady *Anne* Bullen Marqueſſet of Pembrooke: And his owne words (ſpoken to the Judges, as they were ſet downe by his deare friend, *George Cowrinus*, in a ſhort diſcourſe upon his death) are, *non me pudet quamobrem a vobis condemnatus ſum (videlicet) ob id, quod nunquam voluerim aſſentiri in negotium novi matrimonij Regis*, which uttered, after ſentence of condemnation, (when no evaſion or ſubterfugies would availe) muſt proceed ſurely from his conſciences; and before this, he wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*, (which I have ſeene) wherein he proteſted, he was not againſt the King, either for his ſecond marriage, or for the Churches ſupremacy: But wiſheth him good ſucceſſe in thoſe affaires, &c. which renders him, (well looked upon) not ſo ſtout a Champion for the Pope, as many of his partiall friends and Romaniſts ſuppoſed; neither ſo ſound in his Religion; for I have ſeene amongſt the multitude of writings, concerning the conference about the alteration of Religion, and ſuppreſſing of Churches and Religious houſes, that his connivance and conſent was in it; nor could he excuſe it, with all his policy and wiſdome, neither had the King ever attempted it, had not the Pope and his Agents oppoſed that ſecond marriage, an error and inſolency Rome hath ever ſince repented. But it prov'd a happy blow of Juſtice to this Kingdome, cutting of him and his authority, which elſe had hazarded the beſt Queene that ever was, the ſacred and eternally honoured *Elizabeth*, to whoſe growing glory and virtue Maſter *Moore* became an early and cruell adverſary, even before ſhe was *in rerum natura*. To know him further, let me referre you to the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory of Maſter *John Fox*, in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, who deſcribes him graphically; for his hiſtoricall fragment, it ſhewes what great paines he tooke to item the faults and ſad fortunes of King *Richard* the third; and how induſtrious he was to be a time obſerver, it being the moſt plauſible theame his poeticall ſtraine could fall on in thoſe times, , and could not want acceptance nor credit, well knowing in what fame he ſtood, and that the weaker Analyſts and Chroniclers, (of meane learning and leſſe judgement) would boldly take it upon truſt from his pen; who *tanquam ignotum & ſervum pecus*, have followed him ſtep by ſtep without conſideration, or juſt examination of their occurrents and conſequents. And the reputation of him and Doctor *Morton* (being both Lord Chancellours of England) might eaſily miſlead men part blind, who have dealt with King *Richard*, as ſome triviall claw-

Cowrinus.

In ſcrinijs div. Ro: Cotton.

clawing Pamphleters, and Hiſtoricall paraſites, with the magnificent Prelate, *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke, A man of very excellent ingredients and without Peere in his time; yet his values had the ſting of much detraction, and the worth of his many glorious good workes interpreted for vices and exceſſes; to ſuch it muſt be ſaid, *quod ab ipſo allatum eſt, id ſibi relatum eſſe putant.* And if their injuſtice ſuffer under the ſame laſh, they muſt know this doome hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixiſti tale etiam audies.*

Terent. Phorm.

Iliad. 20.

But ſo much gall and envy is thrown upon King *Richards* ſtory, as cannot poſſibly fall into the ſtile of an ingenuous and charitable pen; all his virtue is by a malitious Alchymy ſubſtracted into crimes, and where they neceſſarily fall into mention, either ſcornefully tranſmitted or perverted, with injurious conſtructions, not allowing him the reſemblance of goodneſſe or merit: If his diſpoſition be affable and curteous, (as generally it was, which their owne relations cannot deny) then he inſinuates and dives into the peoples hearts, ſo where he expreſſes the bounty and magnificence of his minde; it is a ſubtle tricke to purchaſe friendſhip; let him conceale the knowledge of his jujuries, and his patience is deepe hypocriſie; for his mercy and clemency extended to the higheſt offendors, (as to *Fogge* the Atturney, who had made a Libell againſt him, beſides the counterfeiting of his hand and ſeale) they were but palliated, and his friendſhip meerely a Court brow. They have yet a more captious and ſubtle calumny, reproaching the caſting of his eyes, motions of his fingers, manner of his geſture, and his other naturall actions.

The virtues of King Richard malitiouſly cenſured.

Cicero de Offic. lib. 1.

I confeſſe with *Cicero* that *ſtatus, inceſſus, ſeſſio, occubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio,* have a certaine kind of decorum; but he makes it not a vice to erre in any of them, nor that any errour committed in them was a vice; although in him it muſt be ſo defined by the Lawes of Utopia: nay, they will diſſect his very ſleepes, to finde prodigious dreames and bug-beares, (accidents frequent to themſelves) which they dreſſe in all the fright and horrour fiction and the ſtage can adde, who would have ſung Peans to his glory, had his ſword brought victory from Boſworth field: but now, their envy is borne with him, from his mothers wombe, and delivers him into the world with a ſtrange prodigy of Teeth; although (I am perſwaded) neither Doctor *Morton*, nor Sir *Thomas Moore* ever ſpake with the Dutcheſſe his Mother, or her Midwife about the matter.

But if true; it importeth no reaſon why thoſe early and natalatious teeth ſhould preſage ſuch horrour and guilt to his birth; when we ſhall remember thoſe many Noble and worthy men, who have had the like, (without any imputation of crime) as * *Marcus Curius* ſirnamed thereupon *Dentatus*,

* *Pliny, Livy, valel. Maximus, Plutarch.*

Cu.

Cu. Papiene, King of the Epirots (a Prince much renowned for his victories and virtues) *Monodus* Sonne of *Prusias* King of Bithynia, borne with an intire ſemicircular bone in their mouthes, inſtead of Teeth; then they aggravate the pangs of the Dutcheſſe in her travaile with him: which had not been ſufferable without death, if ſo extreame and intolerable, as they would have them thought for,

Quod ferri poteſt leve eſt; quod non, breve eſt.

But ſhe overcame them, and lived almoſt fifty yeares after; others have died in that Bed, yet the children not made guilty of murther; *Iulia* the daughter of *Julius Cæſar*, Wife to great *Pompey*, *Juliola* the deare daughter of *Marcus Cicero*, Wife of *Dolabella*, and *Junia Claudilla* the Empreſſe, and Wife of *Caligula*, died all of the difficulties and extremity of their childebearing; ſo did Queene *Elizabeth* Wife of King *Henry* the ſeventh; and ſince the Mother of that moſt towardly and hopefull Prince *Edward* the ſixth in travaile of his birth; with many thouſands more, whoſe deaths (much leſſe their paines) were never imputed to their children.

This Dutcheſſe of Yorke died about the 11 of King Hen. 7. at Berkhamſted and was buried at Totheringam. *Iohn Stow. Seneca.*

The next objection is ſomewhat of more regard, (but as farre without the certainty of a proofe) which is the pretended deformity of his body, controverted by many; ſome peremtorily aſſerted he was not deformed, of which opinion was *John Stow*, a man indifferently inquiſitive (as in all their other affaires) after the verball relations and perſons of Princes, and curious in his deſcription of their features and lineaments, who in all his inquiry could finde no ſuch note of deformitie in this King: but hath acknowledged *vivâ voce*, that he had ſpoken with ſome ancient men, who from their owne ſight and knowledge affirmed he was of bodily ſhape comely enough, onely of low ſtature, which is all the deformity they proportion ſo monſtrouſly; neither did *Iohn Rouce* who knew him and writ much in his diſcription, obſerve any other: and *Archienbald Quhitlaw*, Ambaſſador unto this King from Scotland, in his Oration ſaies, he had *corpus exiguum*; not otherwiſe; ſo (to my conceit) *Philip de Comines* and the Prior *de Croyland* (who had ſeen and knowne this Prince) ſeeme to cleere him implicatively; for in all their diſcourſes of him they never directly nor indirecty, covertly or apertly, inſinuate this deformity which (I ſuppoſe) they would not have paſſed; And by his ſundry Pictures which I have ſeen, there was no ſuch diſproportion in his perſon or lineaments, but all decently compacted to his ſtature; his face of a warlike aſpect, (which Sir *Thomas Moore* calleth a crabled viſage) of all the children being ſaid to be moſt like his Father in favour and compoſition of ſhape, who though not tall was of an even and well diſpoſed ſtructure.

King *Richard* not deformed.

Rot. in an. 2 R. 2.

And

Sir *Thomas Moor apud Harlæton.*

And Sir *Thomas Moore* himselfe, doth not certainely affirme the deformity, but rather seemes to take it as a malitious report; for saith he, King *Richard* was deformed as the fame ranne by those that hated him; *habemus reum confitentem*, and surely, it had been a strange kinde of confidence and reason in Doctor *Shaw*, to disclaime a thing which must be so palpable, openly in the Pulpit at Saint Pauls Crosse, whilst the Protector was present, before many hundreds of people, (who had seen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; In these words, the Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the speciall patterne of Knightly prowesse, as well in all Princely behaviour as in the lineaments of his body and in the favour of his visage, representing the very face of the Noble Duke his Father; this is the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very sure and undoubted Image and expresse likenesse of that Noble Duke.

Doctor *Shaw.*

Socrates. *Æsopus.* *Epictetus.* *Galba* a great and excellent Captain of the Romans, all of deformed stature.

Now, what can malice extract out of this, to upbraid or stigmatize his honour; if men of blemisht persons may containe a wise, valiant, learned, liberall and religious soule, and be in every part most absolute, exampled to us in many famous men; and at our home (as well in this present age, as in the more ancient) we have had men of a harsh fabrick, most nobly furnisht in the composures of their mindes.

But becaus these cavils could not fetch blood from him, they will make him guilty of other men, and first of King *Henry* the sixth, whose murther they say (and very favourably) his Brother *Edward* contrived, but wrought him to act it; an accusation of very harsh credit, that either King *Edward*, so truly noble and valiant a Prince, should put a Prince and his owne Brother, upon so horrid a thing, or he indure to heare it: Sir *Thomas Moore* holds King *Edward* would not ingage his Brother in so butcherly an office, there being many reasons that he durst not, neither doe his adversaries charge him directly by any credible Author of that time, or discover by whom this murther was; onely the Prior of *Croyland* maketh it somewhat suspitious.

Chron. Croyland.

Hoc tempore inventum est corpus regis Henrici sexti exanime in turre Londinarium. Parcat Deus, & spatium pœnitentiæ ei donet quicunque sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus immittere, unde & agens tyranni & patiens glorioſi martyris titulum mereantur.

Tyrannus in the proper construction, being *Rex*, for whosoever is *Rex* is *Tyrannus*, according to the ancient signification; for amongst the Greeks Τύραννος was used for a King simply, good or bad, and this (some hold) makes against King *Edward*; *Richard* being Duke of Glouceſter then, yet so doubtfully

fully as may be refelled by good authority; for it is the opinion of very grave men, *Henry* the ſixth was not murthered, but died of naturall ſickneſſe, and extreame infirmity of body.

Idem Croyland.

Rex Henricus ſextus, ab annis jam multis ex accidente ſibi ægritudine quadam animi incurreret infirmitatem, & ſic æger corpore & impos mentis permanſit diutius; this conſidered with the aggravation of his griefe and ſorrow, in the loſſe of his Crown and liberty (being then a priſoner) the overthrow of all his friends and forces in the Battaile of Teuxbury, but (above all) the death of his Sonne the Prince, might maſter a ſtronger heart and conſtitution then his, in a ſhorter time; which opinion is received and alleadged by a learned and diſcreet Gentleman.

Anonymus, M.S.

The occaſion of the murther of King *Henry* the ſixth, hath no other proofe but the malitious affirmation of one man; for many other men more truly did ſuppoſe that he died of meere griefe and melancholy, when he heard the overthrow of his cauſe and friends, with the ſlaughter of the Prince his Sonne: And *Iohannes Majerus* ſaith it was reported, King *Henry* the ſixth died of griefe and thought. Concerning the ſlaughter of the Prince his onely Sonne, it is noted to be caſuall, and made ſuddaine by his owne inſolence, not out of any pretended malice, or premeditated treachery, and ſo it cannot be called wilfull murther; for the King demanding him why he invaded his Kingdome, his reply was, he might, and ought to doe it, in defence and preſervation of the right, which the King his Father and his heires had in the Crowne, and maintained this lofty anſwer ſo peremtorily and boldly, the King in rage ſtrooke him with his fiſt, (as ſome ſay armed with a Gantlet) and inſtantly the Noblemen attending, as *George* Duke of Clarence, Marqueſſe Dorſet, the Lord Haſtings and others, drew their ſwords upon the Prince and killed him; which they would make the particular fact of Duke *Richard*.

Rex Hen. 6. in cuſtodia ut alij referunt, gladio, & alij merore, deperijt. Ioan Majerus, Annall Flandr. lib. 17.

The ſlaughter of the Prince ſonne of H. 6.

Polidor. Virgil. lib. 24.

But to the contrary, I have ſeene in a faithfull Manuſcript Chronicle of thoſe times, that the Duke of Glouceſter onely of all the great perſons, ſtood ſtill and drew not his ſword; the reaſons to credit this are, firſt it might be in his meere ſence of honour, ſeeing ſo many drawn upon him, there was no need of his, or in his reſpects to the Princes Wife, who (as *Iohannes Majerus* ſaith) was in the roome and neare a kinne to the Dutcheſſe of Yorke his Mother, and to whom the Duke was alſo very affectionate, (though ſecretly) which he ſoone after demonſtrated in marrying her; nay, this Duke bore ſuch a ſence of noble actions in his boſome, that miſliking the obſcure and meane buriall of *Henry* the ſixth, this Princes Father, he cauſed his corps to be taken from Chertſey,

Chron in quarto M.S. apud Dom. Regis. Rob. Cotton.

Anna, uxor Ed. filij reg. H. 6. capta eſt cum marito. Ioan. Majerus in Annal Flandr. l. 17.

and to be Honourably conveyed to the Royall and ſtately Chappell of Windſor, ordained for Kings.

Richard not guilty of the Duke of Clarence.

And Sir *Thomas Moore* ſaith further, he was ſuſpected to have the contriving part in the Duke of Clarence his Brothers death, yet confeſſeth it was commonly ſaid *Richard* oppoſed himſelfe againſt the unnaturall proceedings of the King, both privately and publiquely; and the truth is, it was the Kings owne immoveable and inexplorable doome who thought it juſtly and neceſſarily his due; for Clarence ſtood guilty of many treaſons and great ones, and by his ingratidude had ſo forfeited himſelfe to the Kings diſpleaſure, that no friend durſt move in his behalfe; this the King did afterward acknowledge with ſome diſcontent, when his wrath had cooled, as we may gueſſe in this expreſſion of his: *O infælicem fratrem, pro cujus ſalute nemo homo rogavit*; yet *Polidor Virgil* doth not rightly underſtand here as I conjecture by the ſequell; but let us interpret that a little, and take up another accuſation which puts into the way.

Polidor. Virgil.

That *Richard* Duke of Glouceſter ſhould ſcandall the birth of the King his Brother with baſterdy, and alleadge it for a ſpeciall matter in Doctor *Shawes* Sermon, that he ſhould ſame King *Edward* the fourth a baſtard, and that the Dutcheſſe his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certaine Gentleman; this he might erroneouſly ſcatter in the Pulpit, and take it upon the like intelligence, by which (in the ſame Sermon) he called her (to whom King *Edward* was betrothed before his marriage with the Lady *Grey*) *Elizabeth Lucy*, whoſe name was for a certaine *Ellenor Butler*, *alias Talbot*, ſo called by King *Richard*, and written in the Records.

Errour of Dr. Shaw.

This drift had been too groſſe for King *Richard*, to lay an imputation of whoredome upon his owne Mother, (a virtuous and honourable Lady) being it caſt alſo a ſhame and baſterdy upon himſelfe; for if ſhe offended in one, ſhe might as likely offend in another, and in the reſt.

That the Duke of Glouceſter raiſed not the ſlander againſt the Dutcheſſe his Mother, nor of his Brothers baſterdy.

And to quit him of it, Sir *Thomas Moore*, *Richard Grafton*, Mr. *Hall*, ſay that King *Richard* was much diſpleaſed with the Doctor, when he heard the relation, which the Duke of Buckingham alſo affirmed in his ſpeech to the Lord Mayor of London. That Doctor *Shaw* had incurred the great diſpleaſure of the Protectour for ſpeaking ſo diſhonourably of the Dutcheſſe his Mother.

That he was able of his owne knowledge to ſay, he had done wrong to the Protectour therein, who was ever known to beare a reverend and filiall love unto her: and to cut off all farther doubt and queſtion, it was proved and is teſtified upon records, that *George* Duke of Clarence onely raiſed this ſlander in an extreame hatred to the King his Brother, many jarres

falling

falling between them) by which the King had a juſt cauſe to take notice of his malice.

Viſus eſt dux Clarentiæ magis, ac magis a regis præſentia deſubtrahere, in conſilio vix verbum proferre, neque libenter bibere aut manducare in domo Regis.

When *Richard* even in that calamitous time *Henry* the ſixth had overthrowne King *Edward* in a battaile, * recovered the Kingdome, and proclaimed *Edward* an uſurper; ſo faithfull was his Brother, that (*a*) he was proclaimed traitor for him; and (*b*) when Queene *Margaret* beſiedged the City of Glouceſter with the Kings power, the Citizens ſtood at defiance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of Glouceſter his Towne, who was with the King, and for the King, and for him they would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a moſt conſtant expreſſion in this motto (*c*) *Loualto mélie*; which I have ſeen written by his owne hand and ſubſcribed *Richard* Glouceſter. The other was as conſtantly undermining at him, after confederated with the Earle of Warwicke his Father Allie, who had turn'd faith from the King, and went into France, ſollicting for force againſt England; which they brought in, fought with the King and overthrew him, and ſo fiercely purſuing the victory, that the King was forc't to fly out of the Land: Clarence not ſo ſatisfied, (unleſſe he might utterly ſupplant him) ſtudied that ſlander of baſterdy, to bring in himſelfe an heire to the Crowne, which was proved and given in expreſſe evidence againſt him, at his triall and attainder by Parliament, amongſt ſundry other articles of high Treaſon.

Videlicet That the ſaid Duke of Clarence had falſly and untruly publiſhed King *Edward* a baſtard and not legitimate to Raigne, that himſelfe therefore was true Heire of the Kingdome, the Royalty and Crowne belonging unto him, and to his Heires; theſe be the very words of the Record, and enough to tell us who was the Author of that ſlander, and what important cauſe the King had to quit himſelfe of Clarens: a bitter proofe of the old Proverbe, *fratrum inter ſe iræ acerbiſſimæ ſunt*; and all the favour Clarence could at his end obtaine, was to chooſe it, (as *Iohn de Serres* reporteth it) ſo that it was not the Duke of Glouceſter, but the Kings implacable diſpleaſure for his malice and treaſons that cut him off, who could not thinke himſelfe ſecure whilſt he lived: Witneſſe *Polidor Virgil*; *Edwardus Rex poſt mortem fratris ſe a cunctis timeri animadvertit, & ipſe jam timebat neminem.*

Next for the murther of the two ſonnes of King *Edward* the fourth, *Edward* the fifth King in hope, and *Richard* of Shrewſbury Duke of Yorke and Norfolke his younger Brother, they alleadge it in this manner.

That King *Richard*, being deſirous to rid thoſe two Princes

* *Anno.* 10. *Edward.* 4.

(*a*) *Lib. M.S. in quarto. apud Dom. Rob. Cotton.*

(b) Chronicle, *Croyland.*

(*c*) Loyalty bindeth men.

Father allie. *Quod vulgo & corrupte* Father in law *dicitur.*

In Parliament, *anno* 17. *Ed.* 4. *Ju. Stow. vidit & legit.*

Eraſmus Chiliad.

Ioan de Serres. Invent.

Who made away the ſonnes of King Edward the fourth.

his Nephews out of the world, imployed his trusty servant *John Greene* to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant Constable of the Tower, about the executing of this murther; and by reason that plot tooke no effect, (Sir *Robert* not liking it) The Protectour suborned foure desperate Villaines, *John Dighton*, *Miles Forrest*, *James Tyrrell*, and *William Slater* to undertake it, who, (as they further alleadge) smothered them in their beds, which done, they made a deepe hole in the ground, at the foote of the staires of their lodging, and their buried them, hiding the place under an heape of stones, (not after the antient manner of *tumulus testis*;) others vary from this, and say confidently, the young Princes were imbarqued in a Ship at Tower wharfe, and conveyed from thence to Sea, so cast into the Blacke deeps; others averre they were not drowned, but set safe on shore beyond Seas. And thus their stories and relations are scatter'd in various formes, their accusations differing in very many and materiall points, which shakes the credit of their suggestion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertaine, one giving the lie to the other, their malice having too much Tongue for their memories, and is worth the noting how opposite (and as it were) *ex Diametro* repugnant they are.

Pedir Virgill. l. 26.

In vulgi fama valuit filios Edwardi *Regis aliquo terrarum parte migrasse, atque ita superstites esse.*

Dr. Morton, Sir Tho. Moore.

Thus *Pollidor*, with which Dr. *Morton* and Sir *Thomas Moore* agree in one place: The man (say they) commonly called *Perkin Warbeck* was as well with the Princes, as with the people, English and forraigne, held to be the younger Son of *Edward* the fourth, and that the deaths of the young King *Edward* and of *Richard* his brother, had come so far in question, as some are yet in doubt whether they were destroyed or no, in the dayes of King *Richard*; By which it appeares they were thought to be living after his death. And as the act of their death is thus uncertainly disputed, so is the manner of it controverted.

For, Sir *Thomas Moore* affirmeth (as before reported) they were smothered in their beds with Pillowes; but *Pollidor* saith peremptorily it was never known of what kinde of death they dyed.

Another Author and more ancient agreeth with them.

Prior Croyland.

Vulgatum est Regis Edwardi *pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur*; one reason of this may be that they who held *Perkin Warbeck* and *Richard* Duke of Yorke to be all one, give another accompt of his death, whereas if it had beene certaine these foure before named for *Assassines* had murdered them, then the place, time and manner had beene easily known upon their strict examination, they living freely and securely, (and without question) long after this murder was said to be done; Therefore there can be no excuse for this neglect

neglect of Examination, much leſſe for the ſuffering ſuch to goe unpuniſhed, and at liberty, which me thinks maketh much for the cleering of King *Richard*.

As for the burying of their bodyes in the Tower, if that be brought in queſtion, *cæter*, the affirmative will be much more hard to preve then the negative.

For true it is there was much diligent ſearch made for their bodies in the Tower: all places opened and digged, that was ſuppoſed; but not found; Then it was given out a certaine Prieſt tooke up their bodies and buried them in another ſecret place not to be found; hereunto (but with better decorum for the more credit of this aſſertion) they might have added it was done *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, which may not be revealed.

Sir *Thomas Moore* ſeeing the abſurdities and contrarieties of theſe opinions, (as a man puzeled and diſtracted with the variety and uncertainty thereof) concludeth their bodies were beſtowed God wot where, and that it could never come to light what became of them; *Hall*, *Hallingſhed*, *Graſton* and the reſt, confeſſe, the very truth hereof was never knowne; And (if there be a ſtrict or inquiry into the myſtery) we ſhall diſcover, that they were neither buried in the Tower nor ſwallowed in the Sea; for the teſtimony and Relation of ſundry grave, and diſcreete perſons (and ſuch as knew the young Duke of *Yorke*) will reſolve us how he was preſerved and ſecretly conveyed into a foraigne Country; alſo alive many years after the time of this imaginary murder; to which may be added ſtrong authorities having layd downe ſome conjectures that may anſwer the iniquiry after the other. And firſt whereas it is ſaid the Lord *Protector* before his Coronation procured this murder: To refell and contradict that, there bee certaine proofes that the Princes were both living in the moneth of *February* following the death of their Father, which was ten moneths after; for King *Edward* dyed in *April* before, and this is plaine in the Records of the Parliament of *Anno* 1. *Rich.* 3. where there is mention made of this Prince, as then living; and Sir *Thomas Moore* confeſſeth that they were living long after that time before ſaid; But I conjecture *Edward* the Eldeſt brother lived not long after, but died of ſickneſſe and infirmity, being of a weake and ſickly diſpoſition, as alſo was his Brother, which the Queene their Mother intimated in her ſpeech to the Cardinall *Bourſier*; and the weake conſtitutions and ſhort lives of their ſiſters may be a naturall proofe to infer it probable enough this Prince dyed in the Tower; which ſome men of theſe times are the rather brought to thinke, certaine bones like to the bones of a Child being found lately in a high deſolate Turret ſuppoſed to be the bones of one of theſe Princes; others are of opinion it

Moore, Hallingſhed Graſton, Hall, Stow.

ot was the carcasse of an Ape kept in the Tower, that in his old age had happened into that place to die in, and having clamber'd up thither, according to the light and idle manner of those wanton Animals; after when he would have gone down, seeing the way to be steepe and the precipice so terrible, durst not adventure to descend, but for feare stayed and starved himselfe, and although hee might bee soone mist, and long sought for, yet was not easily to be found, that Turret being reckoned a vast and damned place for the hight, and hard accesse, no body in many yeares looking into it.

But it is of no great consequence to our purpose, whether it were the Carcasse of a Child or of an Ape, or whether this young Prince dyed in the Tower, or no: for wheresoever hee dyed, why should not be as probable hee dyed of a naturall sicknesse and infirmity, as for his young Cozen german the sonne and heire of King *Richard*? many reasons conducing why the qualities and kinde of their death might be the same, and neere one time, being even parallels almost, and in their humane constitutions and corporall habitude sympathizing, of one Linage and Family, of one blood and age, of the same quality and fortune, therefore not unlikely of the same Studies, Affections, Passions, Distemperatures, so consequently subject to the same infirmities, to which may be added equall and common constellations, the same compatient and commorient fates and times, and then there is reason and naturall cause they might both die of like Diseases and infirmity, and were not *Biothanati*, taken away by violence, secret, or overt: for it may with as much Argument bee suspected the son of King *Richard*, (being in the like danger of secret violence for the same cause as his Cozen was) might suffer so.

But to open the circumstance a little neerer: what danger could the lives of those two Princes be to *Richard*? who was accepted King by a just title, and his Nephewes declared illegitimate, by the high Court of Parliament, and whilst they were reputed such by so great and generall a conclusion, why should he be lesse secure of them, then *Hen.* 2. was of *Robert* E. of Gloceſter, base sonne to *Hen.* 1.? or *Richard* the first of his base Brother *Geoffrey Plantagenet*? So although *Iohn* of *Gaunt* left base sonnes, aspiring enough, yet they were of no danger to the *Lancastrian* Kings, neither did *Henry* 7. or *Henry* 8. stand in any jealousy of *Arthur Plantagenet*: and surely *Richard* the third was as valiant, wise and confident, as any of his predecessors, and had as little cause to dread his Nephewes, as they stood adjudged, or be more cruell and bloudy; neither hath my reading found any Bastards of *France* or *Spaine*, who have aspired so publickly, onely except *Don Eurique* E. of *Trastamara*, who was drawne into that action by the violent rages of the people,

people, and by the perſwaſions of the revolted ſtates of Caſtile, to put downe a monſter of Soveraignty the hatefull tyrant, *Don Pedro* & Cruell. But being Sir *Thomas Moore* and our beſt Chroniclers make it doubtfull, whether theſe two Princes were ſo loſt in King *Richards* time, or no, and infer that one of them was thought to be living many years after his death; that might be enough to acquit him; which opinion I like the better, becauſe it mentioneth the ſurvivance but of one of them.

Neither doe our moſt credible ſtories mention the tranſportation of more then one, into Flanders, nor had they reaſon; it will bee ſufficient, if one of them ſurvived him, more, or leſſe time; we will follow therefore the examination of his ſtory, under the opinion of thoſe times, and the atteſtation of grave and credible men, becauſe it will be more conſpicuous in the true and ſimple narration of this one Brother; every ſtory being fraught with reports concerning him, and few or none of his brother finding no mention of the Elder Bothers being in Flanders; but of the youngers much, and of his other adventures: The prudent and honorable care of ſending away this younger Brother, by ſome is aſcribed to St. *Robert Brakenbury*, by others to the Queene his Mother, and it may well be the projection of them both, though no doubt there was the adviſe and aſſent of other well affected friends. And it is the more credible, the Queen wrought in it; for the ſtory of Sr. *Thomas Moore* ſaith ſhee was before ſuſpected to have had ſuch a purpoſe, which was objected to her by ſome of the Lords; and the Cardinall *Bourſier* told her the maine Reaſon which made the Protector and Nobles ſo urgeing to have him ſent to his Brother (being then in the Tower) was a ſuſpition and feare they had ſhee would convey Him forth of the Realme.

So then, it may be cleerly ſuppoſed: he was ſent into a forraine Country, and that Flanders (as all our ſtories teſtify) there commended to a liberall education, under the curature of a worthy Gentleman in *Warbeck*, a Towne in Flanders, but kept very privately all the life time of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make him of the councell. After his death, knowing *Henry Richmond* a cruell enemy to the houſe of Yorke, for his better ſafety was committed to the care of *Charles* of Burgundy, and his Dutcheſſe the Lady *Margaret* Aunt to the Prince, as formerly the Dutcheſſe of Yorke upon a like cauſe of feare and jealouſy had ſent thither her two younger ſons *George* and *Richard*.

The Dutcheſſe being very tender to let this young Duke have all Princely and vertuous education in Tornay in Antwerp and after in the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, as hee had bin

bin in *Warbeck*, &c. And with the greater circumſpection, becauſe the Dutcheſſe of Burgundy had as jealous an opinion of *Henry* the Seventh, as the Queene Widdow had of *Richard* 3. Therefore, as yet, it was adviſed to conceale his Name and Quality: being not come to the growth nor age to have experience in his own affaires, much leſſe to undertake an attempt ſo conſequent and mighty as the recovery of a Kingdome: neither were the times and opportunity yet ripe, or propitious to faſhion ſuch an alteration, as was projected and muſt be produced, though there was pregnant hope of an induction to a change of Government ſtir'd by the Kings coveteouſneſſe, and ſome acts of Tyrany, Greivance and Rebellions in the North and Weſt parts; not long after (which lent a ſeaſonable hand to theſe deſignes) great unkindneſſe fell out betwixt *Charles* the *French* King, and *Henry* the 7. who ſo far provoked the *French*, that he beſieged Bulloigne, with a great army by land and Sea, the quarrell was of good advancement to the Dutcheſſe of Burgondy's Plot, and brought the Duke of Yorke better acquainted with forraigne Princes and their Courts; who was ſent into *France*, into *Portugall*, and other places where he was received and entertained like a Prince.

In which time ſuch of the Engliſh Nobility as were intereſſed in the ſecret, and knew where this Prince reſided, found ſome opportunity to give him aſſiſtance, and ſent Sr. *Robert Clifford* and Sr. *William Barley* into Flanders, to give him a viſit and intelligence of what noble friends he had ready to ſerve him: though their more particular errant was, to take a ſtrict obſervance of him, and ſuch private marks as hee had bin knowne by from his Cradle: there had beene ſome counterfeits, incouraged to take upon them the perſons of *Edward* E. of Warwick, and *Richard* Duke of Yorke; But here, the certainty of their knowledge found him they looked for, by his Face, Countenance, Lineaments and all tokens familiarly and privately knowne to them; obſerving his behaviour, naturaliz'd and heightned with a Princely grace, and in his diſcourſe able to give them a ready accompt of many paſſages he had heard or ſeene whilſt hee was in England; with ſuch things as had beene done and diſcourſt very privately, ſpeaking Engliſh very perfectly, and better then the Dutch, or Walloniſh: by which Sr. *Robert Clifford* and the reſt, found themſelves ſo well ſatisfied, and were ſo confirm'd, That they wrot to the Lord *Fitzwater*, to Sir *Symon Mountford*, and others (who had a good opinion towards him;) the full accompt of what they had obſerv'd *ex certa ſcientia, & ſupra viſum corporis*. About this time (to intermix the Scene with more variety, and fill the Stage) ſome principall perſons, well affecting the E. of Warwick, and hoping to get him forth of the Tower in

purpoſe

purpoſe to make him King) had inticed a handſome young fellow, one *Lambert Simonell* of Lancaſhire, bred in the Univerſity of Oxford to become his counterfeit, and ſo inſtructed him in the royall Genealogy, that hee was able to ſay as hee was taught; maintained and abetted, cheifly, by the Viſcount *Lovell*, the E. of Lincolne, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and Sir *Symon Preiſt*, &c. who being preſented to the Duke and Dutcheſſe of Burgondy and by them honorably entertained, drew to him in Flanders one *Martin Swartz* (a Captaine of a very eminent fame) and ſome forces, with which hee made over into Ireland where they received him as *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, as hee was of many here at home: and when the deceit was diſcovered, the excuſe was, thoſe Lords but uſed this counterfet of the Earle for a Colour, whilſt they could get him out of the Tower to make him King. But the vaile is eaſily taken from the face of ſuch impoſtors, examples giving us light in many; for though ſome men may, all cannot be deceived: ſo *Spendo-Agrippa* in the time of *Tiberius* was ſoone found to bee *Clemens* the ſervant of *Agrippa*, though very like to him, and *Pueſdo-Nero* in *Otho's* time, who tooke upon him to be *Nero* revived, was quickly unmasked.

Dion, Tacitus, Suetonius. Counterſeit Princes.

Valerius Paterculus telleth of a certaine ambitious counterfet in Macedonia, who called himſelfe *Philip*, and would be reputed the next heire of the Crowne, but was diſcovered and nicknamed *Peſudo-Philippus*; Alſo in the Raigne of *Commodus* one pretended to be *Sextus Claudianus*, the ſon of *Maximus*; with many ſuch that are obvious in old ſtories; and many of the like ſtampe have beene here convicted in *England*; which bred the greater jealouſy of this *Richard*, when hee came firſt to be heard of, Though thoſe jealoſies proceeded not from the detection of any fraud in him, but of the late impoſture of the ſaid *Lambert* the Shooemakers ſon, and the abuſe of the Complotters; for the Kingdome having been abuſed with thoſe *Pſeudo-Clarences*, had reaſon to bee doubtfull of every unknowne perſon, which aſſumed the name of greatneſſe; in regard whereof, many ſhrunke in their opinions from this *Perkin*, or *Richard*; many others ſuſpecting their beliefe, were very curious to inform themſelves who the further they inquired, were the more confirmed, that hee was no other but the ſecond ſon of *Edward* the Fourth, againſt whom thoſe of the harder credulity objected it as an impoſſibility, that this young Duke could bee conveyed out of the Tower, ſo long, and ſo concealed; which the wiſer ſort could eaſily anſwer by many ancient examples, which give us di-

Its written by ſome of the old Hiſtorians that King *Harold* was not ſlaine at the Battaile of *Haſtings*, by the Conquerer; but that he ſurvived & went to Ieruſalem, &c. But it not importeth whether He were the true *Harold*, or *Pſeudo Harold*, becauſe he never came to claime any thing in England.

vers Relations of Noble Children preſerved more admirably: and this young Duke himſelfe, in his owne behalfe, when ſuch objections were made againſt him, did alledge to *Iames* King of Scotland the Hiſtory of *Ioab* mentioned in the Booke of the Kings, and that moſt ſpeciall one of *Moſes*: which the Dutches his Aunt Sifter German to his Father, was ſtrongly confirmed in, giving him all anſwerable and honorable accommodation: ſo did the chiefe Nobility of thoſe parts, and as an heire of the houſe of Yorke, there was rendred him the Title of *La Roſe-Blanch*, the proper and ancient deviſe of the houſe of Yorke; with all, a gallant Guard of Souldiers was allowed him for attendance, and much was hee favored by the Arch-Duke *Maximilian* King of the Romans, by *Philip* his Sonne Duke of Burgondy, *Charles* the *French* King, the King of Portugall and Scotland, by the chiefeſt of Ireland and many Perſonages in England, who at extreame perill and hazard avowed him to be the ſecond ſon of *Edward* the fourth.

The practice of Hen. 7. with the Duke of Burgondy.

The Princes aforementioned readily ſupplying him with Coyne and aſſiſtance, towards his atcheivements. King *Henry* actively apprehends what it threatned, and beſtirs himſelfe to take of their inclinations, diſpatching Doctor *William Warkam* (after Archbiſhop of Canterbury) with Sr. *Edward Poynings* a grave and worthy Knight, to under-rate his credit with thoſe Princes; and ſuch ſtrong perſwaſions were uſed That *Philip* Duke of Burgondy (for his Father *Maximilian* was before returned into Auſtria) utterly declines himſelfe and his ſubjects from his firſt ingagement, but excepted the Widdow Dutcheſſe of Burgondy, over whom hee had no power of command, becauſe ſhee had all juſtice and Juriſdiction in thoſe large ſignories whereof her dowry was compoſed.

And thus *Richard* was ſupplanted here; what hope of ayde hee had, or did expect by his voyage into Portugall, I cannot ſay, though his entertainment there was honorable: but by reaſon of the diſtance of the Country it may bee thought hee was to build little upon any from thence; his chiefe confidence and refuge being in England and Ireland, where he had a good party, and ſayled with a prety Fleete into Ireland; there hee was welcomed, and received as the the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward*; ſome of the *Geraldins* and other great Lords in Ireland, purpoſing to make him their King; To overtake him betimes there too, Doctor *Henry Deane*, Abbot of Lanthory (a very wiſe able man) was ſent and made Chancellor of Ireland; with him went the ſaid Sr. *Edward Poynings*, who ſo actively beſtirred themſelves

The meanes uſed by *Hen.* 7. to prevent the practiſes of *Perkin* in Ireland.

that

that in ſhort time they drew the Iriſh from *Perkin*, ſo that now hee muſt returne home, but by the way was encouraged, to apply himſelfe to *Iames* King of Scotland, whither forthwith hee directs his hopes, and found his entertainment anſwerable to them: the King receiving him very Nobly by his title of Duke of York, calls him Cozen, with promiſes to give him ſtrong footing in England, and (in earneſt of his better intents) beſtowed in Marriage upon him, the moſt Noble and faire Lady *Katharine Gordon* his neere kinswoman, Daughter of *Alexander* Earle of Huntly: This came home very ſharpely to King *Henry*, who knew King *Iames* to bee a Prince ſo Wiſe, and Valiant, that no eaſy deluſion could abuſe him.

This Lady was ſo rarely faire and lovely that *King H. 7* wondred at her beauty, and was inamored of her ſending her to London to be ſafely kept till his returne out of the Weſt Countries, where he then was and firſt ſaw her.

And true it is, King *Iames* was very preciſe in his conſideration of this young Duke: but very cleerely confirmed before hee would acknowledge him. King *Henry* is very Studious how to thwart the event of this ſcene, and unfaſten the King: but caſts his confidence againe, upon the fortune of his judgement, and ſends many Proteſtations with rich promiſes, to King *Iames* for Perkin (for now wee ſhall ſo call him with the times) which tooke ſmall effect at firſt; but King *Henry* (being a man pregnant to finde any advantage, and one whoſe providence would not let it die) remembers the ſtong affinity and friendſhip betwixt King *Iames* and *Ferdinando* King of Caſtile, (one of the moſt Noble Princes then living.) At that time too, it happened ſo happily, there was a Treaty and intelligence betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and *Ferdinando*, for propoſition of a Marriage of *Arthur* the Prince of Wales, and *Katharine* Daughter of King *Ferdinando*: this occaſion no ſooner offered it ſelfe to his conſideration, but a Poſt was diſpatcht to Caſtile, with Letters and Inſtructions to give the King to know what had paſſed betweene him and King *Iames* of Scotland, urging him to uſe the Power and Credit hee had with him, for the delivery of Perkin to himſelfe: which *Ferdinando* undertooke; and ſends *Don Pedro Ayala* (not one *Peter Hialas*, or *Peter Hayles*) as our vulgar ſtories have (a wiſe and learned man and of a very Noble houſe) who ſo ably uſed his Braine in this imployment, that King *Iames* paſſed to him his promiſe, to diſmiſſe *Perkin* to his own fortunes; But would by no meanes deliver him to the King.

The practice of *H.7.* to the *King* of Scots, and of Caſtile to get or ſupplant *Perkins*.

Don Pedro, Ayala.

Thus *Perkin* was againe ſupplanted *Virtute vel dolo*, and of neceſſity driven into Ireland, where hee was formerly received and entertained; whilſt they were agitating their firſt Plot of ſetling him King, *Charles* the French King

Hall in H. 7.

ſends to him *Lois de Laques* and *Eſtiene Friant*, to offer him his friendſhip and ayde; with this good newes *Perkin* haſted into France, where hee found his welcome very honorable, as befitting a Prince, a Guard appointed to attend him, of which Monſieur *Congre-Salle* was Captaine; before this King *Henry* had threatned France with an Army, but now upon a better view and deliberation, foreſeeing what this had in it, He propounds very faire Conditions for a Peace with the French King, which the French King was as willing to intertaine, and ſo it was concluded; *Perkin* after this began to thinke the King ſhortned his reſpects, and looked upon him (as it were) but *imagine luſca*, with halfe a Countenance, and fearing there might bee ſome capitulation in this new League, that might concerne his liberty, privately quits Paris, returning to his Aunt of Burgondy. Although *Perkin* was thus ſhortned in his forraine expectations, hee had thoſe both in *England* and *Ireland*, that much favored him and his cauſe, making another voyage into *Ireland*, but returned with his firſt comfort; for though they ſtood conſtantly affected and were willing, the Kings Officers curbed them ſo, they could not ſtir.

From *Ireland* hee ſayled into *England*, landing at Bodmin in Cornewall, the Corniſh and Weſterne men thereabouts receiving him very gladly, proclayming him King of *England* and of *France*, &c, by the Title of *Richard* the Fourth (as Hee had beene proclaimed before in the North parts of *England*, by the Councell and Countenance of the King of Scots.) Out of Cornewall Hee marches into Devonſhire to Exeter, to which Hee layd Siege, having then about five thouſand men in his Army; but the Kings being at hand and farre ſtronger, Hee was forc't to riſe from the ſiege, upon which thoſe few friends Hee had left (finding His want, and the King with greater ſtrength approaching) forſooke him to provide for themſelves: thus abandoned, no way before him but flight, and being well mounted, with a traine of ſome forty or fifty reſolute Gentlemen, recovers the Abby of Beanely in Hampſhire, where Hee tooke Sanctuary, from which the Kings party who perſued Him would violently have ſurpriſed him;

Which the Abbot and Religious perſons would not indure as a thing too foule againſt their Priviledge. The King after ſends to him profers of favours and mercy, with promiſes of ſuch Honour and Condition as drew him to the Court, where the King looked upon him with a very Gratious and Bountifull uſage as a Noble perſon;

Perkins Entertainment in the Court.

But

But his prompting Jealouſies and Feares ſoone caſt a dulneſſe over this firſt favours and promiſes; Then a Guard muſt bee ſet upon *Perkin* and his uſuall freedome reſtrained; theſe were harſh preſages (Hee thought) which ſo juſtly moved His ſuſpition and diſcontent that hee thought Sanctuary againe muſt bee his beſt ſafety, and paſſing by the Monaſtery of Shrene, hee ſuddenly ſlips into it from his Guard, whither the King ſends unto him with perſwaſions of the firſt Courtly and Honorable tincture; But *Perkin* that had diſcerned the Hook, was not eaſily to be tempted with the bait this ſecond time.

Then the King dealt with the Prior for him, who would not yeeld him, but upon faithfull promiſe from the King to uſe him with all favour and grace, which was proteſted, although *Perkin* no ſooner came into his power againe but hee was ſent to the Tower, where his impriſonment was made ſo hard and rude, that it much dejected and troubled him, oftentimes in private and with peircing groanes, having beene heard to wiſh himſelfe borne the Sonne of any Peſant. And indeed, every one could tell hee fared the worſe for his Name, it being an obſervation of thoſe times that there was three men moſt feared of the King.

Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwicke, *Perkin*, alias *Richard Plantagenet*, and *Edmond de la Poole* Sonne of King *Edwards* Siſter, all of the Family of Yorke, but moſt of all *Perkin*, being of a more active ſpirit, ſo more ſenſible of his wrongs then the other; and coſt the King more Conſultation and Treaſure in the working him into his hands; Therefore anſwerably aggravated his miſeries and diſgraces which now beganne to exceede; for hee was not onely ſharpely reſtrained in the Tower, but the fame was the Queſtion or **Gehenne* was given Him: ſometimes he was taken forth, and carried in moſt ignominious manner abroade, to bee ſet in the Pillory, otherwhile in the Stockes; after all theſe bitter and cruell puniſhments (to pull downe his ſtomacke) there was ſent ſome unto Him of purpoſe to perſwade his ſubmiſſion to the Kings mercy, and by renowncing His Blood, Birth, and Title, to confeſſe himſelfe no other but *Perkin Warberk* the Sonne of a baſe Flemming, which Hee ſcorning and denying, His ſufferings were made more rigorous, and Hee lodged poorely and baſely, as meanely ſedde, worſe cladde, untill at length by Torments and Extremities, Hee was forc't to ſay any thing, and content to unſay what they would have Him, to accuſe Himſelfe by

* Rack.

by a forc't Recantation of his Family, Name, and Royall Parentage; this must bee compell'd too under His hand, then to bee brought by the Officers unto the most publique places of *London* and *Westminster*, to suffer as before related, and with a loud voyce to reade the same, which might passe at present with the multitude for current, who knew not how it was forced from Him, nor had judgement enough to know and consider that Racks and Tortures have made very able men accuse themselves and others unjustly: *Seneca* telleth of a man who being suspected of Theft was inforced by torture to confesse the theft and his fellow Theeves; but haveing none, hee accused the good and just *Cato*, to avoyd the torture; nay (which is a thing of more horror) it maketh men by false Oaths to blaspheme God; Therefore Saint *Augustine* inveigheth sharply against the cruell use of it, and amongst many other sins, which hee findeth in it, this is one,

The force and mischiefe of Torture.

Augustin. in Civitate Dei.

Tortus si diutius nolet sustinere Tormenta, quod non commisit, se commisisse dicit.

The tortured gladly doing this the sooner to exchange those torments with death as the far lesse pain.

And therefore this young Man may bee excusable in what hee did against himselfe, his youth being ignorant of these high points of Honour, and could not yet bee confirmed in any brave and firme resolution, nor happily in Religion, and the worse also by the reason of his long imprisonment and heavy trouble, having no Councell to strengthen him, nor so much as in Charity to comfort Him, but left a miserable desperate forlorne Man, and feared to bee so for ever, and at the best. And if learned grave Men, Men of grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for feare of such punishments have denyed some chiefe points of Christian Faith, yet have beene excused for the torture sake, (of which wee have testimony in the Ecclesiasticall Stories) what may a tender and unexperienced youth doe? For which just causes the best Doctors of the Civill Law, and also of Theology condemne and aborre the use of Torture, as having a further mischiefe in it, and is *Arcanum Gehennæ* a secret of Torture, or of Hell.

The French call torture *la Gehenne.*

For when the Prisoners body by exteame toment is brought

brought into any mortall State, or ſymptome of death, or made incurable and deadly, then to avoyde the imputation of Murder, the priſoner by a ſhort and private proceſſe is condemned of ſome capitall crime, and preſently executed, whilſt there is yet ſome life in him; And to that cenſure *Perkin* at laſt came; for nothing could ſerve but his blood, his confeſſion being only extorted from him to perſwade the People hee was an impoſtor, and becauſe they could not lay hold of his Life by the Courſe of Law or Juſtice (being not attainted nor condemned of any capitall crime.) This ſcruple being a little conſidered, there was found out a way to remove that, and matter enough to make him guilty of a capitall offence; for which purpoſe it was deviſed there ſhould a practiſe of eſcape bee offered him; and becauſe the caſe of *Edward Plantagenit*, Earle of VVarrwicke, was like unto his, and as well wiſht, being not attainted of any crime, hee alſo muſt deſire to eſcape, that deviſe being the onely matter of guilt, or capitall crime, which was wanting, and might bee (as it were) created for them the more colorably to effect their executions; there not wanting inſtruments for that purpoſe to betray their innocent confidence, whoſe inpriſonment had layne ſo heavily and cruelly upon them, that they were eaſily perſwaded to catch at any hope of liberty.

Some ſay the Earle of Warwicke at his arraignment was charged with perſwading the other to make this eſcape, but ſure it is they both gladly hearkened to the motion of it; And were (ſoone after) accuſed as guilty of practiſe and Conſpiracy, to eſcape out of the Tower, ſo for the ſame arraigned and condemned to die: though great difference was put in their proceſſe, and execution; for the Earle of Warwick was tryed by his noble Peeres, and had the ſupplice of a Noble man, in an honorable place, the Tower of London: *Perkin* alias *Richard*, by a Common Jury, who are men (many times) of little honeſty, and to ſuffer at the common and infamous place, Tyburne, by the name of *Perkin Warbecke*, to confirme the People Hee was what they condemned him for; For this Nick-name was ſuppoſed to have utterly diſnobled Him, and (as it were) diveſted Him of all his Noble Bloud and Titles, the condition of an impoſtor ſerving beſt for a cloke againſt that purple ſhower, which was at the fall and cruell uſage of this miſerable Prince.

Yorke and Warwick, paralels.

It

It may bee thought, the Earle of VVarwicke had as shamefully suffered, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinall could have reacht to have made him a counterfeit; But all men knew Hee was not onely a true and certaine Prince, but free from all practise, yet Hee was restrained of his liberty, and a prisoner the most part of His life: from the time of his Fathers attainder untill He Suffered this was after they had survived King *Richard* their Unckle about fifteen years.

Of escape.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality, it is called in Law.

The French word escape, is to seeke to be free, and the French men translate escape into the Latine *Salvus*.

Some holding an escape to bee but an errour, a naturall dislike of bondage, or a forfeit of simplicity, proceeding from a naturall and very tolerable desire of liberty, which opinion is contingent to right; And the cause of these two Princes may also bee the better received, if it bee well considered, that this Plot of their escape was not projected by themselves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper instruments (being young and unexperienced) to intangle them in some capitall offence; and so of Death, of which kinde of offences they stood cleere before, not once accused, haveing never beene indicted, or attainted of any thing Capitall. Therefore now their innocence must bee made guilty; And in this I say no more then all our Historians, or others say, who agree in one opinion that The KING could not take away the lives of *Perkin Warbecke* and this Earle of Warwicke, untill this practise of their escape was layde to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was *Perkin* now to bee thought a Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Bloud, clayming the Crowne; for otherwayes, Hee was *Perkin* of Flanders, a base fellow and a most culpable and notorious Traitor: then what neede they looke further for a Crime to put him to Death?

And if Hee were not a Traitor, surely it was a Tyranny to make of an Innocent and guiltlesse Man a guilty Felon, and by Traines, and Acts, to forge an offence out of nothing.

For doubtlesse an Innocent and a true man may seeke freedome, and purpose an act of escape, also commit it, and yet be still an honest Man, and a faithfull good subject; for nature and reason teacheth and alloweth all men to eschew injuries and oppression.

Beſides this Practiſe of thoſe young men, to eſcape, was found (as *Pollidor* well obſerveth) *Crimen Alienum*, and not *Crimen proprium*: then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their lives.

But however it may bee laid upon them, it was nothing but a deſire of liberty out of durance, in which they were kept for a ſmall, or no offence.

The Civill law holdeth ſuſpition of flight or eſcape, to bee no crime. *Suſpicio fugæ quia, non ſolet detrimentum, reipublice adferre, non cenſetur crimen*; ſo *Ulpian.* And by the Lawes of *England*, if a Priſoner doe eſcape, who is not impriſoned for Treaſon, or felony, but ſome leſſer fault of treſpaſſe according to the old Law of *England.*

Juſt: *Stanford, in pleas de la Corone.* lib. 1. cap. 26, 27.

Eſcapæ non adjudicabitur verſus eum, qui Commiſſus eſt priſonæ, pro tranſgreſſione. Eſcape ſhall not bee adjudged for Felony, or other crime, in one who is committed for treſpaſſe.

For the offence of the eſcape is made in the common Law, to be of the ſame nature and guilt with the crime whereof the Priſoner is attainted; And certainely neither the Earle of *Warwicke*, nor *Richard* alias *Perkin* were attainted of Treaſon or Felony, &c. before.

But to cloſe this diſpute and tragedy, not long after ſome of the Inſtruments which betrayed them into this, as *Walter Blunt*, *Thomas Aſtwood*, ſervants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, finiſhed at *Tiburn* becauſe they ſhould tell no tales.

And to this ſuccinct relation, there can be no better teſtimony then the hands of thoſe witneſſes, who have ſealed their confeſſion and knowledge with their bloods.

Men of all conditions and eſtates, all maintaining at the laſt gaſpe, that *Perkin* was the true Duke of Yorke, whoſe Affirmations I will produce, give mee but leave by the way, to anſwer one Objection or Cavill brought againſt this Duke called in ſcorn, *Perkin Warbecke.* A new Writer affirming him to bee an Impoſtor, whoſe learning may be as much miſtaken in this, as other things, though he laid a great pretence to knowledge, eſpecially in the Hiſtory of *England* and other Countreyes: indeed his judgement and reading are much expreſt alike, in his Pamphlet which he cals the Hiſtory of *Perkin Warbecke*, wherein he forfeits all his skill, to make him a parallel in advers fortunes, and ſuppoſed baſe quality, to the unhappy *Don Sebaſtian* late King of *Portugall*, who he alſo proteſts an Impoſtore. And to arrive at this huge knowledge, (he would have us thinke) hee tooke much paines in the ſifting of Authors (and indeed I thinke he did ſift them) concerning his ignorance in the caſe of *Don Sebaſtian* (if he be not too wiſe to have it informed) I will urge ſome reaſons on *Don Sebaſtians* ſide, who was King of *Portugall*: and invading the Kingdom of *Barbary*, *Anno Dom.* 1584. was overthrown in a fierce & bloody Battel in the fields of *Alcazer*, by the King of *Morocco*, where it

Whether *Don Sebaſtian* of *Portugall* were a Counterfeit or not.

was thought he was ſlaine, but eſcaped and fled ſecretly, traverſtire or diſguiſed: travailing in that manner through many parts of *Africa* and *Aſia* ſome 30. yeares, in which time and travaile he ſuffered much, lived in Captivity and miſery, but at laſt got away into *Europe* with purpoſe to have got into *Portugall* (if poſſible) to repoſſeſſe the Kingdome.

In this returne he came to *Venice*, there diſcovered himſelfe, and deſires aide of the *Venetian* States: they entertained him as a Prince diſtreſſed, gave him good words, but durſt not lend him Aſſiſtance, fearing the King of *Spaine*; Yet the chiefe Senators, and many of the wiſeſt of the Signory, made no doubt of him.

Among them *Signieur Lorenzo Juſtiniano* of the Senators Order, (a man of wiſe and great abilities) was appointed by the States, a Commiſſioner (with others) to hear and examine this cauſe of *Don Sebaſtian*, in which they tooke much paines. And this *Signieur Lorenzo* (being lieger Ambaſſadour in *England*) affirmed and proteſted ſolemnly, he and all the other Commiſſioners were clear and very confident he was *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugall*, notwithſtanding they durſt not give him aide, but councelled him for *France*, where the King favoured right, without feare of anothers diſpleaſure. But taking *Florence* in his way, in the habit of a Fryer, he was obſerv'd and diſcovered by ſome ſpyes which the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* had ſet upon him from *Venice*: who to inſinuate with the King of Spaine, *Philip* the ſecond, and for ſome other commodious conſiderations, delivered *Sebaſtian* to the Governour of *Orbattelli* (a Spaniſh Port in *Tuſcany*) from thence ſent him by Sea to the Count *De le Mos*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, who conveyed him into *Spaine*: there for a while his entertainment was no better then in the Gallies: what other welcome hee had I know not; but the fame went certainly he was ſecretly made away after *Philip* the third was King. The ſaid Vice-roy of *Naples* confeſſed in ſecret to a friend of his, he verily believed his priſoner was the true *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugall*, and was induced to be of that opinion, by the ſtrong Teſtimonies, and many ſtrange and peculiar markes, which ſome Honourable *Portugeſſes* did know him by, all found about the body of this *Sebaſtian*. And the *French* King, *Henry* the 4th it ſhould ſeeme, was perſwaded no leſſe: for when the newes was told him the Duke of *Florence* had ſent this *Sebaſtian* to the King of *Spaine*, he told the Queene what an ill deed her Unckle had done in theſe words; *Noſtre Uncle a faict un act fort indigne de ſa Perſone.*

162. *Hic legatus hæc Domino Baroni* Darcey *retulit.*

Doctor *Stephen de Sampago*, in a letter to *Joſeph Texere*, Councellour and Almoner to the moſt Chriſtian King, writes thus. The King *Don Sebaſtian* is here in *Venice*, &c. So ſoone as hee arrived here (where he hoped to find ſupport) the Ambaſſadour of *Caſtile* perſecuted him very cruelly, perſwading the Signeury that he was a *Calabrois*, &c. I ſweare to your Father-hood by the Paſſion of

Jeſus

Jeſus Chriſt, this man is truly the King *Don Sebaſtian*, he hath all the markes on his body, without failing in any one as he hadin his infancy, only the wounds excepted which he received in that Battel at *Affricke*, he gives the reaſon of his life, & account of all his paſſages, &c. He is knowne and re-known by the Conciergres, by the Judges, by the greater part of the Senate, and by his owne Confeſſor, &c. and a great deal more of him upon knowledg he juſtifies: as much witneſſes *Jon de Caſtro*, Sonne to *Don de Alvaro de Caſtro*, one of the four Governours that ruled the Kingdome Conjunctly with the King *Don Sebaſtian*, who in his letter the ſame man ſayes thus. The King *Don Sebaſtian* (whom the enemies call a *Calabrois*) is the very ſame which is detained here, as certainly as you are Fryer *Joſeph*, and my ſelfe *Don Jon*. He departed alive from the battaile, but very ſore wounded: God having ſo delivered him with ſome other of his company, amongſt whom was the Duke *Anegro*, *&c.* as for the Exterior marks of his body he wants not one of them, he is wounded on the brow of the right eye and on the head, as many witneſſed when they ſaw him in the *Affrick* Battell. His hand-writing is ſtill the ſame, obſerving the very ſame method, as is very well remembred by divers.

There might much more be inſtanced in the behalfe of this *Sebaſtian*, but this may ſerve for better intelligence, to which I may adde, that men experienced in the Affaires and policy of State, know it a rare thing to find in any Hiſtory the examples of a Prince being ſeiſed and poſſeſſed of any *Signiory* or *Principality* (how unlawfull ſoever) who hath reſigned them or any part to the true heires. Have we not inſtances at home, where the Sonne hath taken the Kingdome from the Father, and would not let it goe againe, but rather endeavoured to haſt his Fathers fate? Much after that manner when *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* had got the Kingdome, he held it and would not reſigne to the right Heyr *Richard* the ſecond, nor after his death to the Earle of *March*, though theſe were no Impoſtors; neither was *Edward* Earl of *Warwicke*: yet King *Henry* would not let his hold goe: and the Cardinall Favourite, finding he could not compaſſe his aymes one way, contrived it another. By the *Machivilian* advice he gave to *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile*, not to conclude the treaty of the Marriage betweene Prince *Arthur* and his Daughter *Katherine* untill this Earle and *Perkin* were diſpoſed of, which *Ferdinando* followed and urged the King, pretending it the ſecurity of his Eſtate and Iſſue.

Edward 2. and Edward 3.

In briefe, it is not poſſible to perſwade a private man, though wrongfully poſſeſſed to acknowledge the true proprietary hath a better title then he.

How unjuſtly have the Kings of *Spaine* detain'd ſundry Signeuries and Principalities from the lawfull Heirs: yet if the wrong done by ſuch another diſſeiſing Lord, be put to this former Uſurper, *Malafide* (as the Imperiall *Juriſconſults* will terme him) his

ſentence will be, ſuch a Rapinous Prince doth wrong.

But let us now take a more particular view of thoſe witneſſes who ſtood for *Perkin*. And having formerly mentioned Sir *Robert Clifford*, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons *Cliffords*, I will proceed with that which may be the more remarkable in him, becauſe hee was of a Family that long hated the Houſe of Yorke, from the Battaile of *Wakefield*, when and where they reſolved an enmity ſo deadly, as was not to bee reconciled or ſatisfied whilſt one of them remained; yet became followers againe of the White Roſe family; and this Sir *Robert Clifford* ſerved King *Edward* very neare, and in good credit, ſo could not but have an aſſured knowledge of the Kings Sonnes, and was therefore the more particularly ſent to certifie his knowledge, who certainely affirmed him to bee the younger ſonne of *Edward* 4. and confirmed many with him, ſuch as had likewiſe ſerved King *Edward*, and had been acquainted with the Prince his conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir *Roberts* opinion: the Lord *Fitz-Walter* was of the ſame beliefe, and avowed *Perkin* the true Duke of *York*, moſt conſtantly unto death; as reſolute was Sir *William Stanley*, though he were Lord Chamberlaine to *Henry* the ſeventh, and in great favour; with Sir *George Nevill* Brother to the Earle of Weſtmorland, Sir *Symon Mountford*, Sir *William Daubeny*, father to the Lord *Daubeny*, Sir *Thomas Thwaits*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* of the houſe of the Baron *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *John Taylor*, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, *Thomas Bagnall* with many other Gentlemen of quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of Yorke, ſonne of *Edward* the fourth, & ſundry of the Clergy who had beene Chaplaines to the King his Father, or otherwiſe occaſioned to attend the Court, as Doctor *Rochford*, Doctor *Poynes*, Doctor *Sutton*, Doctor *Worſley* Deane of St. *Pauls*, Doctor *Leyborn*, Doctor *Leſly*, with many other learned Profeſſors of Divinity, who would not endure to heare him called *Perkin*. [a]The Lord *Fitz-Water*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Sir *William Daubeny* (as martyrs of ſtate) confirmed their Teſtimonies with their bloods. So did the Kings Serjant *Ferrier*, who left the Kings ſervice, and applyed himſelf to *Perkin*, for which he was executed as a Traitor; and one *Edwards* who had ſerved this Duke *Richard*, was cut in pieces for the ſame cauſe, alſo *Corbet*, Sir *Quinton Betts*, and *Gage*, Gentlemen of good worth, with 200. more at leaſt, put to death in ſundry Cities and Townes, particularly in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, and about *London* for their confidence and opinions in this Prince.

There were ſome great men (though they made noe profeſſion of their knowledge of him,) could whiſper it one to another which in generall words, is confeſſed by all our better writers; who ſay, that as well the Noblemen, as others, held the ſaid *Perkin* to be

Moor, Hollinſh. Stow, Gainſford.

Moor, Hollinſh. Stow, Grafton, Gainsford, Hal.

Idem Autor.

[a]He was the Noble Progenitor of the Earles of *York*.

Hollinſhed, Grafton, Hall, Stow.

be the younger Sonne of King *Edward* the Fourth.

John Morton. Thomas Moor. Grafton.

And Sir Thomas *Moore* after Doctor *Morton*, thus writeth, The man commonly called *Perkin Warbeck*, was as well with the Prince, as with the people, held to be the younger Sonne of King *Edward* the Fourth.

Richard *Grafton* affirmeth the ſame, in Flanders (ſaith he) and moſt of all here in England, it was received for an undoubted truth, not onely of the people but of the Nobles, that *Perkin* was the Sonne of King *Edward* the Fourth. And they all ſwore and affirmed this to be true; The learned and famous Mr. *Cambden* averreth, there were many wiſe, grave and perſons of good intelligence, (who liued in that time and neere it) That affirmed confidently this *Perkin* was ſecond Sonne to King *Edward*, then both the Brothers were not made a way by King *Richard*, and ſurely it was little reaſon, or policy, to cut off the one & ſpare the other, neither indeed was there ever any proofes made, by Teſtimony, Argument, or Preſumption, nor by Reaſon, Honour, or Policy, that this crime could be his, though many to the contrary; for he not onely preſerved his Nephew the young Earle of Warwicke, but in his confidence (a ſpeciall note of his magnanimity) gave him libertie, pleaſure, and the commmand of a Statly houſe of his owne.

Mr. *William Cambden.*

Now if he had beene ſo Ambitious and bloudy, he would have provided otherwiſe for him, knowing his Title was to take place, if his bloud had not beene attainted in his Father; in regard whereof King *Richard* when his owne Sonne was dead, cauſed his Nephew *Iohn de la Poole*, Eldeſt Sonne of the Duke of *Suffolke*, and of the Dutches his ſiſter, (then the next lawfull heir to the Crowne) to be proclaimed heir apparant, an Argument of reſpect to his kindred & next title to the Crowne, in whomſoever it was; which other men regarded not ſo much as the unhappy Sequel ſhewed: (& there was an impious neceſſitie in that) for whilſt the Prince of Yorke ſurvived, (Eſpecially the males) no other titular Lord, or pretender could be King by his owne right, or by colour of right, nor by any other meanes: unleſſe he had married a daughter, and the Eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth.

Some think he dyed unnaturally.

And although the deathes & manner of taking away theſe Princes (the Sonnes of King *Edward*) is held by our writers uncertaine and obſcure, It is manifeſt (at leaſt for the generall manner of their death) to be either by the Publicke ſword, that is the ſword of Iuſtice, or of Battaile as were King *Richard*, the Children of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Suffolke*, &c. or by the private ſword, that is, by ſecret and cloſe ſlights, treachery (which the *Romans* called *Inſidiæ*, *dolus*, by Smothering, Strangling, Poyſon, Sorcery, &c. And that the ſword was uſed againſt the family of Yorke, there is more then conjecture, both by Teſtimonies of writers, and records: King *Edward* himſelfe, (as Credible Authors re-

Publike ſword. Private ſword.

The arts of treachery.

port) dyed of poyſon. In the Parliament *Anno.* 1. *Richardi tertij* there was accuſed and attainted of ſorcerie and ſuch other deviliſh practices. Doctor *Lewis*, Doctor *Morton*, William *Knevitt*, of *Buckingham*, the Counteſſe of *Richmont*, Thomas *Nandick*, of Cambridge Conjurer, with others; There was alſo an Earle accuſed of the ſame helliſh Art, and an old Manuſcript Booke, which I have ſeene, ſayes, that Doctor *Morton* and a certaine Counteſſe, contriveing the death of King *Edward* and others, reſolv'd it by poyſon.

Which are conjectures and proofes more poſitive and ſtrong againſt them, then any, they have againſt King *Richard*; but it was a great neglect in their malice, makeing King *Richard* ſoe politick and treacherous as they did, not to charge him alſo with theſe Princes Siſters, For it could not ſerve his turne, to rid away the Brothers, and not them; who were capable of the Crowne and had their turne royall, before any Collaterall males. Then he had, the children of his elder Brother, George Duke of Clarence, Edward *Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, & the Lady Margaret his ſiſter, after counteſſe of Salisbury to make away; for they without their Fathers corruption of bloud (which might eaſily have beene ſalved by Parliament, the Lords and Commons affecting them) had a Priority of bloud and precedency of Title before the Protector.

Reaſons why King *Richard* ſhould not deſtroy his Nephewes.

I would aske the reaſon too why King *Richard* might not endure his Nephewes (being by Parliament held and adjudged illegitimate) as well as the Kings *Henry* 7. and *Henry* the eight, endured *Arthur Plantagenet*, the Baſtard of the ſame King *Edward* their natales and caſes being alike, or why Sir Thomas *Moore* and Doctor *Morton* ſhould in one place, ſay it was held in doubt, when or how they were made away, and in another place, to averr that Tiroll and Dighton being examined, confeſſed plainely, the ~~mur~~ murder of them and all the manner of it.

Theſe be contraries which with a great diſadvantage, drawes their allegation into another argument, *Bicorne*, or *Crocodilites*; For in revealing the confeſſion of theſe men, it is implicatively granted, their fault was not then to be puniſhed, and ſoe it appeares no fault: or not worth the conſideration, the confeſſion of a man being the greateſt evidence, can be produced againſt him. Then in regard the confeſſion of thoſe was ſuch as might not be opened, nor the crime called in queſtion (as the ſame Authors acknowledge) it was but a fained confeſſion, and they had done better not to have mentioned ſuch a thing, which begot but a jealouſie in the falſitie thereof, or privity of ſome great ones in it; & a juſt imputation of injuſtice upon the Magiſtracy. For if Dighton, Tirroll, Forreſt and Slater, confeſſe the murder in Act and manner, King *Richard* being dead (who was ſaid to ſubborne and protect them) neceſſarily and in due courſe of juſtice, (eſpecially in the Act of ſo high a nature, and notice as this was) The puniſhment

Other great ones privy to the deaths of thoſe Princes, eſpecially of King *Edwards* Sons.

niſhment ſhould have beene expècted with all extremity.

But being for ſome unknowne cauſes deferred, and after a while quite omitted and pardoned, it may be thought ſuch ſtrange Clemency and impunitie proceeded from a ſingular high indulgence, or elſe, thoſe examinations and confeſſions, were but Buzes and quaint deviſes, to amaze the people, and entertaine them with expectation of a juſtice, to be done in ſome more convenient time (which was never.) This was after the death of King *Richard.* All that was done before, was to make him the Author of that horrible crime and no bodie elſe; For Dighton and the reſt were in ſecurity and liberty, yet it ſtood in good ſteed with the Lancaſtrians, to draw the peoples hate upon King *Richard*, not unlike that ſtory of great *Alexander*, and a noble man in his Court, who ſtood ſo high in the favour of his Nobles and people, that the King grew jealous, and fearefull of his Popularity, ſtudying how he might decline it and him to contempt, but could finde no colour or apt occaſion, becauſe he was ſoe ſtrongly fixt in the peoples likeing and was a man of ſo great a deſert, that noe crime could bee charged upon him. The King unboſoming himſelfe to the councell and care of a freind one *Medius* (of his Country, as I thinke) had this adviſe.

Sir (quoth hee) let not this mans greatneſſe trouble you, cauſe him to be accuſed of ſome hainous crime, (though falſly) and wee will finde meanes to make him guiltie, ſo formally and firmely, that the brand of it ſhall ſticke upon him ever, which he delivered in theſe termes, though divers, yet the ſame in effect. *Medęatur licet vulneri, qui morſus, aut dilaniatus eſt, remanebit tamen Cicatrix.* And it is truely approved by an Antient Chriſtian Poet, thus,

Paulum diſtare videntur,
Suſpecti verèque rei.

Auſonius.

The guilty and ſuſpected Innocent,
In mans opinion are little different.

For there is no more dangerous or fatall deſtiny to greateneſſe, then to be intangled in the multitudes contempt, *Odium et Contemptus*, being the two evills that overthrow Kings, and Kingdomes, the one, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the vanity and obſtinacy of the Prince, the other from the peoples opinion of him and his vices, And then he muſt neither raigne, nor live any longer: *Ennius* ſaid with *Cicero*, *quem oderunt perijſſe expetunt:* And ſoe all that was practiſed upon the fortune, fame, and perſon of King *Richard* was by this rule (though in the judgment and equity of the moſt knowing in thoſe times) their cunning *tranſlatio Criminis* could take noe hold of him, neither appeares it probable, that the Earle of Richmond himſelfe (when he had got all

Ennius apud Ciceronem offic. lib. 2.

juſtice

juſtice and power in his hand) did hold King *Richard* guilty of the murder, and Subornation of thoſe fellowes: nor them the Aſſaſines; for doubtleſſe then, being ſo wiſe and religious a Prince, he would have done all right to the lawes divine and humane, And that I beleeve in the extreameſt and publick'ſt way of puniſhment, to make it more ſatisfactory; and terrible to the people and times: but they freely inioyed their liberty with ſecurity to naturall deaths without any queſtion or apprehenſion, Tirrell excepted, who ſuffered for treaſon not long after committed by him, againſt King *Henry* himſelfe. Neither was *John* Greene (named a party in this murder) ever called in queſtion, nor doe the Hiſtorians of thoſe times (though meere temporizers) charge him with this practiſe againſt his Nephewes, untill after his Coronation (ſome ſay they ſurvived King *Richard*) and giveing this reſpite of time, there was no cauſe, why after that, he ſhould make them away being then ſecure in his Throne and Title, and they longe before pronounced uncapable; Firſt by the eccleſiaſticall Iudges, then by the Barons and Parliament: and where was the cauſe of feare? but if King *Richard* had beene of that bloody conſtitution, the man whoſe life could be moſt prejudiciall unto him, was the Erle of Warwicke lawfull Sonne of *George Plantagenet* Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to King *Richard*: now there was a neceſſitie for the Lancaſtrian faction (if they muſt have a King of that family) to take thoſe Princes away, not to leave King *Richard* or his Sonne, nor yet any legitimate iſſue of Lancaſter, for all thoſe were before any of the houſe of Beauforts in the true order of Succeſſion, and ſtood in their way, ſo did the Progeny of Brotherton, of Woodſtocke, of both the Clarencies, Gloceſter, &c. Though they feared few, or none of thoſe Titulare Lords being modeſt men, not affecting Soveraignty, but content with their owne private fate and feudall eſtate, when all was one with the Lancaſtrians, who were ſo vehement in their royall approaches, that beſides King *Edward* the Fourth and his two Sonnes, King *Richard* and his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, there was afterward (and as occaſion ſerved) The Earle of *Warwicke* and Duke of *Suffolke* and others, both male and female, of that princly family, laid in their cold vrnes, and it muſt be ſo, elſe, there could be no place for the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets*, their turnes being laſt (the Kings of *Portugall*, of *Caſtile*, and other being before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.)

Sir *Tho. Moor. Edward Hall. Ralph Hollinſhead. John Stow, &c.*

In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by *John de Vere* Earle of *Oxenford*, which may be worthy of our obſervation for example ſake, and makes not againſt the cauſe of *Perkin*.

The Earle of Oxon perſecutor of *Perkin*.

This Earle of *Oxenford* much affected and devoted to King *Henry* the Seventh, was a great enemie to this *Richard* (*Alias Perkin*) and I thinke the onely enemie he had of the great Nobility, how this diſlike grew I cannot ſay, whether out of ignorance, or incredulity

incredulity, or out of malice, hateing King *Edward*, and all that had a neare relation to that family, or elſe to apply himſelfe to the honour of the King, but he and the *Cardinall* are ſaid to be the cheife vrgers of *Perkins* diſpatch and hee being high conſtable pronounced the ſentence againſt the young Earle of *Warwicke*; (which much diſtaſted the Country) and ne're to *Heveningham* Caſtle, (that was his cheifeſt Seate) there lived in the woods an old *Hermit* (a very devoute and holy man as the fame of thoſe times admit him) who ſeem'd much troubled to heare this newes, for the love he bare to the ancient and Noble family of *Oxenford*, of much anguiſh of Spirit, ſaying, the Earle and his houſe would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody purſuite of the innocent Princes, for the event of which prophely this hath bine obſerved.

Not long after the Earle was arreſted for an offence ſo ſmall, that no man (conſidering his merit and credit with the King) could have thought it worth the queſtion, for which he was fined at thirty thouſand pounds (in thoſe dayes a kingly ſum,) [a] after this he lived many yeares in great diſcontent; and dyed without iſſue, or any child lawfully begotten by him, and in much ſhorter time then his life time, that great and [b] ſtately Earldome of *Oxenford*, with the opulent and Princly patrimony, was utterly diſſipated, and *como ſal in agna* (as the Spaniard ſaith in the refran) yet this Earle was a very wiſe, magnificent, learned, and religious man in the eſtimation of all that knew him, and one more like to raiſe, and acquire a new Erledome. [c] But it thus fell and was waſted, the Caſtles and Mannors dilapidated, the Chappell wherein this *John de Vere* and all his Anceſtors lay intombed with their monuments quite defaced to the ground, their bones left under the open Aire in the feilds, and all this within leſſe then threeſcore yeares after the death of the ſaid Earle *John*; about the ſame time theſe unhappie Gentlemen ſuffered, there was a baſe [d] ſone of King *Richard* the Third made away, having beene kept long before in Priſon. The occaſion as it ſeemeth was the attempt of certaine Iriſhmen of the *Weſt*, and *South* parts, who would have got him into their power and made him their cheife, being ſtrongly affected to any of the houſe of Yorke were they legitimate, or naturall, for *Richard* Duke of Yorkes ſake ſometimes their viceroy, and thus much in breife of that.

[c] Now to reſolve a queſtion, why the King deferred ſo long the death & execution of the Earle of *Warwick* & *Perkin*, and tooke ſo much deliberation after he had reſolved it, one reaſon and the cheifeſt brought by ſome, is, That in regard *Perkin* was an Alien, and in the allegeance of a Forraigne Prince, therefore he could not be condemned, nor executed for felony, nor treaſon by our lawes: which is a ridiculous evaſion, for we have frequent examples in our ſtories, that the naturall ſubjects of *France*, of *Scotland*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, have had judgement and

himſelf,

[a] This Earle *Iohn*, died *Anno* 4 *H.* 8. 1512 *Dominus de* Arundell *viva voce*

[b] I may call it a ſtately Erledome, for the Earle of *Oxenford*, when he came to the poſſeſſion of it, was offered by ſome 12000 pounds *per Annum* and leave to his occupation all Mannors, Houſes Caſtles, Parks, Woods, Foreſts, & all the Demeſn lands thereto belonging, which might be more worth by yearly value then many Erldoms in this age.

[c] The Mathematicians that calculated the Nativitie of this Earle *Edward*, told the Earle his Father, that the Earledome would fall in his Sons time.

[d] Baſtards of King Richard. *Grafton & Chron. M. S. in quarto apud Dn. Rob. Cotton.*

[e] Why the publique juſtice deferred the death of the Princes.

and execution by our lawes, for felony and treaſon, as *Peter de Gaveſton* a *French* man, Sir *Andrew Harcley* a *Scot*, and lately Dr. *Lopez* a *Portugall*, therefore apparantly that was not the cauſe the King ſo doubtfully, and (as it were) timerouſly deferred their Arraignments & Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defined it ſome inward awe or concealed ſcruple, ſuch as they called *Eumenides*, and *Eurinnies*, and beleeved haunted thoſe men that had purpoſed or acted a wickedneſſe: upon which the Poet ſaid well:

Dæmones Genij.

ſuos

——*Patiturque unos mens ſaucia Manes.* And aſſigned to every man his protecting Spirit, whom the *Greekes* called *Dæmones*, the *Latines Genios*, concluding, that when the *Genius* of him againſt whom the miſchiefe aimes, is ſtronger and more active then his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly taketh effect.

Plutarch in Anton. Hiſt.

For example, produce the mortall enmity betweene *Octavianus Cæſar*, and *M. Antonius*, in which *Anthony* could never prevaile by any Attempt: who conſulting with his Soothſayers, they give the reaſon to bee the power of *Octavians* Genius above his. It is reported the great Philoſopher *Appollonius* had ſuch a ſecret protection, and ſo ſtrong, that the Emperour *Domitian* had no power over his life, though hee ſtudied meanes to take it, *Suidas* adding that this Philoſopher in confidence of his *Genius* when he left the Emperour, added this verſe,

Philoſtrat in vita Appollon.

Οὐ μὲν μὲ κτανεεις, ἐπεὶ ἐτοι μοῖρα θανοντα ἐιμι.

Me non occides quia fataliter protectus ſum: which is that *Flamius Vopiſcus* calleth *Majeſtatem Apollonij* (as I gheſſe) and with it the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion agree in the effects, not in the cauſes, for thoſe whom the Heathen call Δαιμονες *Dæmones*, &c. *Genios*, the Chriſtian Theologues call Angels or Spirits, whereof they hold good and bad.

Vopiſcus in Aureliano.

Angels good and bad.

But to returne to the matters further Allegate & Probate. The induſtrious Antiquary Maſter *John Stow*, being required to deliver his opinion concerning the proofes of this murther, affirmed it was never proved by any credible evidence, no not by probable ſuſpitions, or ſo much as by the Knights of the Poſt, that King *Richard* was guilty of it. And Sir *Thomas Moore* (being puzelled with his Equivocations) ſayes, that it could never come to light what became of the bodies of theſe two Princes. *Grafton*, *Hall*, and *Hollinſhead* agreeing in the ſame report, that the trueth hereof was utterly unknowne. Then where is their farre ſeeing knowledge, that will have them tranſported into Forraign Countreyes, or drowned, or their giganticke prooſes, that ſay peremptorily, they were both murthered and buryed in the Tower by thoſe foure named before: if ſo, we need go no further for the truth.

truth. But theſe are ſplenitick reaches, and the *Parachroniſme* is too groſſe as the *Comædian* ſaid,

Quod dictum, indictum eſt,
Quod modo ratum, irritum eſt.

Terentius in Phormio.

Beſides, if *Perkin* were not the ſecond Sonne of King *Edward*, he muſt bee nothing, for the *Flemiſh*, *French*, and *Wallons* acknowledged no ſuch Noble young man to be borne in *Warbecke*, or in *Tourney*, but make honourable mention of a young Sonne of the King of *England*, who was brought to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* his Aunt, being then in *Flanders*, and how hee was in *France* and in other Kingdomes. And ſurely ſo many Noble and diſcreet *Engliſh*, if they had not knowne him to be the ſame, by moſt certaine tokens, and evidence, would not ſo confidently have laid downe their lives to confirme their knowledge of him, or hazarded their judgements and honours upon an Impoſture, or vanity, eſpecially thoſe who had places of Quality and Eminency neare the King then living, and were in favour at Court. Therefore I would be reſolv'd from our *Anti-Richards*, what aim thoſe Noble-men could have, in averring him the Son of *Edward* the Fourth by the hazard of their lives and Eſtates (if the KING pleaſed) and how could they expect leſſe; for though they were enough to juſtifie it a truth, they were too few to maintaine it againſt him, there could be no aime or hope to ſuper-induce young *Richard* to be King: but meerly I am perſwaded in point of truth and honour, as they thought themſelves bound to doe, they freely tendred their lives to make good what their Conſcience & knowledge witneſſed, for it would be an Impoſture of a miraculous Deception, ſo many worthy and wiſe perſons both of the Nobility and Clergy, ſome of them having ſerved the King his Father and himſelfe, that they all in their particular and generall intelligence and underſtandings, ſhould be miſtaken and cheated. I ſay it was a ſtrange deluſion if it could bee ſo: but indeede thoſe that would have it, ſo leave it in queſtion, and know not well what to make of their own relations, or how to reſolve his Hiſtory, and if wee marke Sir *Francis Bacon* in the life of *Henry* the Seventh (though his ſpeculation be tender, and as favourable as hee can that way) touching the Hiſtory of this young Duke, hee gently ſlides from it;

Explicit liber tertius.

The

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD the Third.

The Contents.

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The marriages of Neeces allowed by the Pope, and usuall; the true cause of Sir Thomas Moores *Condemnation and execution.*

The

The FOVRTH BOOK OF King Richard The Third.

THe Title King *Richard* the Third had to the Crown, acrued to him by the illegitimacie of the Children of King *Edward* the Fourth, and the Attainder of the Duke of Clarence, with the Corruption of his Blood, and forfeiture of the Title in him and in his Heirs, of which there was no queſtion; but of the forfeiture and diſheritage of the ſons of *Edward* the Fourth there hath been much. The true cauſe hath not nor cannot be well known, without the Narration of King *Edward's* ſundry Loves and Wooings, ſpecially his Contracts and Marriages.

I ſhall not need to intimate how amorous and wanton this King was, his many Miſtriſſes or *Amaſia's* he kept, in ſeveral private places; whereof the moſt famous was *Katharine de Clarington*, *Elizabeth Wiatt* alias *Lucy*, *Jane Shore*, the Lady *Elianor Talbot*. And it is worth the remembring (in the Concourſe of ſuch matters as theſe) there was another fair Creature ſo dear unto him, that his too much Affection begat Suſpition; of which he gave her a kinde expreſſion, by a quaint device ſent unto her in a rich Jewel, faſhioned much after the manner of the trivial Hierogliffs uſed in France, and called *Rebus de Picardy*. The device was, A Faulcon encompaſſed with a Fetter-lock: The Mott, *Au Faulcon ſerrure*. The Caution lying in the ambiguity and double

How extreme his deſires were, you may ſee in the Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, ſet down by Sir *Thomas Moor*.

ſenſe of Faulcon: which being whole and proper, ſignifieth a Hawk; but divided, hath an obſcene ſignification, and ſo Faulcon becometh an *equivoque*.

The King afterward was ſo affected with this device, that he would have it carved and painted, in many of his Royal works yet to be ſeen at Fotheringhay and elſewhere.

Yet although the Kings Jealouſie was thus particular to her, his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gameſter, and he that would caſt at all, fairly ſet. Above all, for a time he was much ſpeld with *Elianor Talbot*, daughter of *John Talbot* Earl of Shrewsbury (called in the Act of Parliament 1 *Rich.* 3, The old Earl of Shrewsbury) her mother was the Lady *Katherine Stafford*, daughter of *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of Buckingham, and ſhe the widow of *Thomas* Lord *Butler* Baron of Sudeſley. Her beauty and ſweetneſſe of diſpoſition drew his deſire ſo vehemently, and with ſuch reſpect, that he was ſuddenly Contracted, and after Married by Doctor *Thomas Stillington* Biſhop of Bath, Councellor of State (one much favoured by the King, and often employed by him in great Affairs.) This is witneſſed by our Engliſh Writers, and veritable *Philip de Comines*, in theſe words: *Le Eveſque de Bath (lequel avoit eſté Conſeillier du Roy Edward) diſoit que le dit Roy avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame de Angleterre, & qu'il avoit nommè, & que le Roy avoit fait la promiſe entre les mains dudict Eueſque, & dit auſſi c'eſt Eueſque, qu'il avoit apres eſpouſé, & n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux.*

Philip de Comines, in *Lud.* 11. *cap.* 112. & 122.

In Engliſh thus:

The Biſhop of Bath, a Privie Councellor of King *Edward*, ſaid, That the King had plighted his faith to marry a Lady of England, whom the Biſhop named the Lady *Elianor Talbot*; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Biſhop, who ſaid that afterwards he married them, no perſons being preſent but they twain and he, the King charging him ſtrictly not to reveal it. Which Contract and Marriage are related in the Act of Parliament aforeſaid, where it is diſertly called a former Marriage, and the King had a childe by her. But where deſires are unlawful, they will be unlimited. We are ever young enough to ſin; never old enough to repent: never conſtant, never ſatisfied in our neereſt deſires. Though to morrow ſhew us the ſting of to day, the third ſhall betray us again; and we are taken (like children in a ſhop of trinkets) by the eye, liking all things, from one to another, until pleaſure dull pleaſure, and we grow weary of them. As in the dotages of this King, who had now received others into the boſome of his fancy; eſpecially the fame (which was then in every Courtiers ear and mouth) of an excellent Lady in the Court of France, with the Queen *Charelts*, wife of King *Lewis* 11, and ſiſter to this Lady whoſe name was *Bona* the daughter of *Lewis* Duke of Savoy. And ſo ſuddenly and ſtrongly had he taken

taken fire and apprehenſion of her report (the bent of his affection being meerly wanton to every new object, thinking Love a cold Compoſition, without the priviledge of Variety) that he ſtraight falls into terms of engagement and capitulation of Marriage; to which purpoſe the great and renowned *Richard Nevil* Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and Captain of Calais (then in the eſteem of his beſt and moſt truſty friend) had a Commiſſion of Treaty, and with all ſpeed was ſent Ambaſſadour into France; who, with all honour and magnificence to his wiſh effects it; with the more noble and eaſie diſpatch, the Earl of Warwick being a man eminent thorow all the parts of Europe, for his Valour, Wiſedom, and Heroical vertues. Expecting a welcome at his return, anſwerable to the period of his employment, but findes an alteration not onely of the Kings affection, but of his countenance: for in the interim he had (in an inſtant or particle of time as it were) wooed and wedded the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Relict of Sir *John Gray*, daughter of Sir *Richard Woodville*, and of *Jaquetta*, ſometime Dutcheſſe of Bedford and daughter of the Earl of St. *Poole*. Her husband was one *Gray* a Knight of Grooby, who became a very vehement Lancaſtrian, revolting from the Houſe of York, and therefore the more hateful to thoſe of that Family, and the well-wiſhers thereof (ſo to the Earl of Warwick.) He was ſlain at the Battel of St Albans: Of whom, and of this Lady his wife, as of this Marriage, *Philip de Comines* relates ſomething, which I ſhall leave to the interpretation of the better knowing, and deſire not to underſtand it in the words: *Or de puis le dict Roy Eduart eſpouſe la fille d'un Chevalier de Angleterre femme veufue, qui avoit deux filz & auſſi per Amorettes.*

The great Earl of Warwick.

The Lady *Bona* was afterward married to *John Galeazo Sforza*, Duke of *Millain el Rueſor.*

But neither the deſpiſed ſtate of widowhood, nor the meanneſſe of her quality and condition, the earneſt diſſwaſion of the Dutcheſſe his mother and beſt friends, could make him withdraw his affection, ſo deeply and obſtinately he was ſurpriſed with her beauty: yet if he could have enjoyed his longings otherwiſe, he had not married her. But ſhe was of ſo pregnant and reſerved a wit, (ſeconded by the caution and counſel of the Dutcheſſe her mother) that his higheſt temptations and ſweeteſt batteries could not win upon her; proteſting never to yeeld to any diſhonorable parley or unchaſte motion, although it might warrant the ſafety of her life; and humbly implored his Grace not to think her ſo exorbitantly and vainly ambitious, to wiſh her ſelf a Queen, or to have the hope and preſumption to be any thing higher then what ſhe was, His poor and humble vaſſal: not was ſhe of ſo lowe and loſt a minde, as to violate her Chaſtity, or be a Concubine to the greateſt King.

When the King perceived there was no other remedy but that he muſt ſhift his ſail to that ſcantling of winde, he complies with

her, and protests it was his desire and suit to marry her, notwithstanding her inequality: for in his esteem, her love, her beauty, and her vertue, made her Fortunes and Dowry great, and high enough for any King. Nor did he defer it any longer then there was necessity; but marry her he did, and with such dispatch, that he stayed not for the advice of any, either Councellor, Kinsman, or other whatsoever.

Nay, his speed admitted not the approved Ceremony of the Banes asking. And such was the want of Reverend Bishops then, that he was fain to take an ordinary Priest to marry them, in a Chamber too, in stead of a Church, and that in a Lodge or Forest-house; no body being present but the Dutchesse, and some few of her company. So where he first saw her (and by chance) there at the next interview he married her; an act of as high exception as improvidence. For his Barony thought it a most unworthy and unequal Match, distasting it the more, as done without their consent, which they asslever'd the King ought to have by their ancient priviledges: and were the more exasperated, considering the great inequality between her condition and the Imperial Majestie of *England*, being the Relict but of a poor Knight, his mortal enemy too. Above all, the Earl of Warwick took it for an high indignity, and scandal to his Honour, which stood so far engaged in France to the Lady *Bona* and her Princely friends; knowing the French would be as sensible of the scorn, besides the great charge he had been at, to manage the employment. In the heat of these disgraces (for transcendent spirits have their answerable passions; and it is as dangerous to stand in their way, as in the reaches of an angry Tyde) he forsook the King, and soon after takes up Arms against him; an Induction to those succeeding evils which pursued that inconsiderate Marriage: of which the judicious *Polidor* (*lib.* 24.) maketh this Censure.

This Marriage was in the Forrest of Whichwood.

Rex Edwardus *mutato Concilio de ducenda in uxorem* Bona, *filia Ducis Sabaudiæ*, Elizabetham *viduam* Johannis Gray *Militis*, *in Matrimonium duxit; & de eo Matrimonio ob mulieris humilitatem non modo necessarios Principes, verum etiam* Richardum Woodvillum *Patrem mulieris celat; qua causa cognita cuncti protinus mirari, Principes fremere, Passimque voces emittere indignationis, & Regem non ex sua dignitate fecisse, easque nuptias se crimini dare & dedecori assignare, quod eæc amore non ratione ductus esset; sed inde initium profectum est simultatis ortæ inter Regem* Edwardum *& Richardum Comitem Warwici, &c.*

L'indignete de ce Marriage du Roy Edw. avec un simple gentile femme, displaisant au Conte Warwick, & aux principaux Seigneurs de Angleterre, & offensa tellement le Roy Lewis 11. qu'ils font confederacon, contre le Roy Eduart, &c. Jean de Tillet, Part 2.

But if you will not give credit to him, you shall hear an English Prelate living in those times.

Edwardus *Rex fretus propria electione cujusdam Militis relictam nomine* Elizabeth, *inconsultis Regni proceribus clandestino sibi desponavit Matrimonio; poste a ipsam in reginam Coronari fecit: quod quidem*

quidem Regni optimates ægrè tulerunt, quia de tam mediocri ſtirpe fœminam procreatam ad Regni Conſortium ſecum præpropere ſublimaret.

Thus this amorous King loſt his honour, with many of his beſt and great friends: yet eſcaped well, that he had no more real and preſent feeling of the errour; being the firſt King of *England* that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majeſtie in the Alliance of ſo private and mean a family.

The Story of Arragon mentions a King depoſed for marrying the daughter of his ſubject. And King *Edward* was ſomewhat neer it: for ſoon after, he was expulſed his Kingdom. But being a man that kept an induſtrious and invincible Courage above his troubles, he happily recovered that loſſe, never his honour and friends, which he might have preſerved, and prevented all thoſe Calamities that overtook him in his iſſue, by the advice of the Dutcheſſe his mother, who upon the ſecret advertiſement of his love to this Lady *Gray*, uſed all the perſwaſions and authority of a mother, to return him to the Lady *Elianor Talbot* his former love and wife (at leaſt his contracted) to finiſh and conſummate what he was bound to, by publike Solemnity of Marriage; and preſt it with ſuch ingenious engagements, that for the Arguments ſake, I have tranſcribed the paſſage out of Sir *Thomas Moor* and the reſt of our Engliſh Writers. Thus ſhe diſſwades him.

The Speech of the Dutcheſſe of York, to King *Edw.* 4.

MY Liege Lord, and my dear Son, It' is very commonly reported you are purpoſed to marry the Lady Gray, *a widow, and a mean Gentlewoman; which you cannot but conceive will redound to your diſparagement and diſhonour; all the wiſe, great and nobleſt perſons of your Kingdom, thinking it far more to the advantage of your Honour, profit and Safety, to ſeek the Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in a forraign Countrey then your own, as well in regard thereupon may depend great ſtrength to your Eſtate, and great poſſibility to enlarge your poſſeſſions by ſuch Affinity. Alſo (if well conſidered) you may not ſafely marry any other then the Lady* Bona, *the Earl of Warwick having proceeded ſo far in the Current of that Match already, that it is likely he will not ſit down contented, if his troubleſome and coſtly negotiation ſhould be ſo ſlightly blown off and fruſtrated.*

Beſides (Sir) conſider it is not Princely for a King to marry his own Subject, (at leaſt no great and important occaſion leading him thereunto, nor poſſeſſions or other commodity depending thereupon) but will be leſſe tolerable to all opinion, then if a rich man ſhould marry his maid, onely for a little wanton dotage upon her perſon; in which kinde of Marriages, many men commend more the maids fortune, then the maſters diſcretion. Yet there muſt needs be more honeſty in ſuch a Marriage, then can be honour in this which you affect:

fect: for the difference is not so great betwixt a rich Merchant and his servant, as you must think between the King and the widow Gray; *in whose person (albeit there be nothing to be misliked) there is nothing so excellent, but it may be found in divers other women, much more noble and many ways exceeding her, and more comparatively to your Estate (those also Virgins, who must be thought of a much more honourable estimation then widows;) wherefore the Widowhood onely of* Elizabeth Gray *(though in all other things she were convenient for you) were enough to restrain you, being a King, and so great a King.*

And it must needs stick as a foul disparagement to the sacred Majestie of a Prince (who ought as nearly to approach the Priesthood in Pureneſſe and Cleanneſſe, as he doth in Dignity (to be defiled with Bigamy, in his first Marriage.

Thus far the King could with attention hear the Dutcheſſe: But being extremly far gone in love, or rather in the hot paſſion of Love, he was reſolute to marry her; and partly in earneſt, and partly in play (as one that well wiſt he was out of the check of a mother) yet reverently thus replied.

The Anſwer of King *E.*4. to the Dutcheſſe of *York* his mother.

MADAM,

ALthough Marriage, being a Spiritual thing, ought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his grace inclineth either parties to love mutually and vertuouſly (as I hope and truſt he doth work in ours) and not for the regard of any temporal advantage: yet nevertheleſſe this Marriage (as it ſeemeth to me, being conſidered even after the worlds account) is not unprofitable, nor without fruits: for I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or forraign Prince ſo neceſſary for me, as the friendſhip and love of mine own Subjects; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, ſeeing I diſdain not to marry one of my own Land. When (if a forraign Alliance were thought ſo requiſite) I could finde the means of that much better by other of my kin (where all thoſe parties would be content) but to marry my ſelf to one whom I ſhould (peradventure) never love, and for the poſſibility of more poſſeſſions, loſe the fruit and pleaſure of this which I have already: For ſmall pleaſure taketh a man of all he hath, or can have, if he be wived againſt his appetite.

And I doubt not but there be (as you ſay, Madam) other women in every point comparable to the Lady Gray; *therefore I lett not other men to wed them, no more then have they reaſon to miſlike where it liketh me.*

Nor doubt I my Couſin of Warwick's love can be ſo ſlightly ſetled to me, as to grudge at that which I affect; nor ſo unreaſonable, to look that in my choice of a wife I ſhould rather be ruled by his eye then

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mine own, that were to make me a Ward, and binde me to marry by the appointment of a Guardian; with which ſervile and hard condition I would not be King.

As for the poſſibility you urge of more inheritance by new Affinity in ſtrange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwiſe, it is oftentimes the occaſion of more trouble then profit. Beſides, we have already a Title and Seiſine ſo good and great, as may ſuffice to be gotten, and ſo to be kept, by one man, and in one mans days.

For your Objection that the Lady Gray *hath been a wife, and is now a widow, and hath already Children: Why (by Gods bleſſed Lady) I that am a Batchelor have ſome Children too; and ſo, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us are like to be barren. And I truſt in God (Madam) you ſhall live to ſee her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that ſhall be a joy and pleaſure to you.*

For the Bigamy objected; let the Biſhop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Orders of Prieſthood: for I confeſſe, I underſtand Bigamy is forbidden to a Prieſt, but I never wiſt it yet forbidden to a Prince: Therefore I pray you, good Madam, trouble your ſelf and me no further in this matter.

Then ſhe urged his Contract with the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*, and his having had a childe by her, (as ſhe ſaid;) and thought her ſelf bound in conſcience to charge him with. Maſter *Moor*, *Grafton*, *Stow* and the reſt, ſay, the King utterly denied that Contract, and proteſted it a ſlander; which well and juſtly he might do, and theſe Authors may retract what they have written.

For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, though he loved her well, being of an affable and witty temper; nor did ſhe ever alleadge the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by ſweet and tempting language; And who knoweth not *Credula res amor eſt?* But true it is, he had a childe by her, which was the Baſtard *Arthur*, called commonly (but unduly) *Arthur Plantagenet*, afterward made Viſcount *Liſle*, by *H.* 8.

In this Relation, the Hiſtorians have much and foully erred, not onely corrupting the ſtory, but have injured the Dutcheſſe of *York* in her judgement and knowledge of theſe matters, and the tenour of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this *Elizabeth Lucy* (of birth and quality much meaner then the Lady *Gray*, whom ſhe conceived ſo baſely of; for *Elizabeth Lucy* was the daughter of one *Wyat* of Southampton, a mean Gentleman (if he were one) and the wife of one *Lucy*, as mean a man as *Wyat*. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and ſhe was one of thoſe moſt famous three who had peculiar Epithets, being called his Witty Leman.) For that they would have her ſay, the King was never betrothed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore I conceive it was never extracted from her. But truely to ſalve the ſtory, and errour of theſe Writers, we muſt know, That

Elizabeth Lucy.

Lady to whom the King was firſt betrothed and married, was *Elinor Talbot*, daughter of a great Peer of this Realm, of a moſt noble and illuſtrious Family, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is alſo called in authentick Writings the Lady *Butler*, becauſe ſhe was then the widow of the Lord *Butler* (a Lady of a very eminent beauty, and anſwerable vertue) to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a childe hy her. This is that Lady (not *Elizabeth Lucy*) the Queen ſpake of to her ſon; and (to note *Obiter*) the Kings breach with this Lady, was a cauſe the ſubtil widow would not liſten unto him before Marriage, having learned, *Credulitas damno ſolet eſſe puellæ.* This Marriage caſt the Lady *Elianor Butler* into ſo perplext a Melancholy, that ſhe ſpent her ſelf in a ſolitary life ever after: and how ſhe died, is not certainly known; but out of doubt kindneſſe was not the cauſe, he having a heart for every new face, and was ſo become exceedingly fancied to his new wife the Lady *Gray*, no Court or pleaſure now, but where ſhe is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence (which was many yeers, and rendred a fruitful iſſue to him) no queſtion that party of her kinred made their beſt advantage from it. Yet the remembrance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by ſuch ſenſible apprehenſions, he could not brook to have it mentioned, which was the cauſe of his diſpleaſure againſt his ancient Chaplain Doctor *Stillington* of Bath, becauſe he did what his conſcience urged, to God and the Kingdom, in diſcovering the Marriage, occaſioned by the Ladies ſudden indiſpoſition and preſſing ſorrow; who not able to contain her ſelf, had open'd it to a Lady her ſiſter, or (as ſome ſay) to her mother the Counteſſe of Shrewsbury; ſhe to the Earl her husband; he conſults it with his nobleſt kinsfolks and friends, as it was a general ſcandal to them all: they, to inform themſelves the better, had conference with Dr. *Stillington*, who affirmed the Contract and Marriage: with whom they adviſe, that as he was a Biſhop and a Privie Councellor, it behoved him to prepare it to the Kings conſideration, for ſome redreſſe and ſatisfaction. But the Biſhop (though willing) durſt not deal with the King in that manner; rather wiſht they would apply it to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, as the man moſt inward with the King; whereof *Philip de Comines* thus writeth. *Ceſtuy Eueſque d'Bath, mit en avant a ce Dux de Glouceſter, que le dit Roy* Edouart *eſtoit fort amoreux, d'un Dame, d'Angleterre, & luy promiſe de l'eſpouſer pour veu qu'il couchat avec ilha, ells s'y conſentit: & dit ceſte Eueſque, qu'il les avoit Eſpouſes, & n'y avoit que luy & eux deux.*

Ovid.

Philip de Comines.

The Duke of Glouceſter, as they deſired, preſt it to the King, who became more incens'd againſt the Biſhop, ſaying he had not onely betraid his truſt, but his children; and upon that heat puts him from the Councel Table, under a ſtrict impriſonment for a long time, which at length he redeemed himſelf from, by a heavy fine, as

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is teſtified by Doctor *Goodwin* Biſhop of Hereford, in his *Catalogus Epiſcoporum*, who writeth thus: *Philip de Comines, le Roy Edw. de ſupposé l'Eveſque, & le tient in priſon, & le Ranſon d'un bon ſumme d'Argent.* Which was taken for a piece of more paſſion then juſtice; the Biſhop not deſerving ſo to ſuffer in this caſe, where his conſcience might very well excuſe what he did.

How King *Edward* died.

Not long after, King *Edward* died; of what diſeaſe, it is doubtfully ſuggeſted: Some thought, of an Apoplexy, or dead Palſie. *Polidor Virgil* ſaith, of a diſeaſe utterly unknown to all the Phyſitians; which leaves it to a further conſtruction. The Author of the Hiſtory of Britain delivers plainly, that King *Edward* was killed by poiſon (as the common report in France went.)

Lib. 4. in Hiſt. de Britaigne.

Aucuns diſopent que le Roy de Angleterre Edovart, *avoit eſté Empoiſonné au mois d'Aurill en l'an.* 1463. And *Enguerrant de Mouſtrolet* writeth, that ſome ſaid he died of an Apoplexy: others, he was poiſoned in Wine of *Creu*, which King *Lewis* the eleventh ſent to him. *Philip de Comines* (to that purpoſe) ſays, *Aucuns diſent que le Roy* Eduart, *mourut d'un Catarhe.* That is, Some ſay that King *Edward* died of a *Catarhe*: for that is their phraſe in France, when a great man is made away by Poiſon. Of ſuch a venemous *Catarhe* died the young King *Edward* the Sixth. But by whoſe hand King *Edward* the fourth had his death, it is not ſaid. Certain it is, he was generally beloved of all his Subjects, except thoſe of the Lancaſtrian faction. As ſoon as he was dead, the ſilence brake into a general muttering againſt his Marriage; then into loud and publike inveighing againſt it. All tongues were at liberty, and Pardons were hoped for all offences; the general and common opinion being quite againſt it, and the Children.

Mouſtrolet, part 3. de ce Chron.

Doctor *Morton.* Sir *Tho. Moore, Grafton, Hollinſhead, Stow.*

And Doctor *Morton* affirmed, The Duke of Buckingham, with other noble Lords, ſaw and read certain authentick Inſtruments made and ſigned by learned Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries, with the Depoſitions of ſundy credible perſons, importing and teſtifying the Children of *Edward* the fourth were Baſtards: with which opinion the City of London was alſo poſſeſſed; and Doctor *Shaw*, Frier *Pinke*, and other Preachers in the Pulpits declared them *Spuria vitulamina.* To this conſented all the people of the North parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before mentioned; which the Court of Parliament adjudged and decreed to be ſo. A fault of Improvidence in their Father, who might have prevented all quarrels and queſtions about that and future claims, repaired all flaws and defects of Titles; alſo have taken away the errour and inconveniency of the poſt-Contract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Baſtards to his Children; and ſo have avoided all the inſuing miſchiefs and calamities. If firſt he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady *Elianor*, from the Pope, who was then held to have all power both of heaven and earth.

How King *Edward* might have prevented all after-queſtions.

Or if after the ſecond Marriage (and while he flouriſhed, which was by the ſpace of Fourteen yeers) he had either by a due conſideration, or counſel of his beſt friends, wrought the Popes Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady *Elianor*; then, his Apoſtolical Bull of Diſpenſation, for his Poſt-Contract, or Matrimony ſuperinducted (as they call it) which might eaſily have been obtained at *Rome*, for money. And after that, to have ſummoned a Parliament, requiring the three Eſtates to have ratified and confirmed theſe Bulls, for the approbation of the ſaid Marriage with the Lady *Gray*, and the Legitimation of his Children, and made them lawful by Act of Parliament (according to the Popes Indulgence (which was then a ſacred and moſt inviolable thing.) Laſtly, to have Declared, Pronounced and Decreed in Parliament, That the ſaid Children of the King, being ſo made legitimate, were alſo capable of all Honours, Dignities, Eſtates Publike and Private, of which the King ſtood ſeiſed, or which were any ways appertaining and proper to the Kingdom of *England*, and of *France*. I ſay, If he had done this, he had compoſed all defects, and prevented all ſucceeding dangers of Claims and Practices, which might have been done with ſmall or no trouble. A courſe by another afterward opportunely thought on.

The Authority of Parliaments.

And ſurely (it may be conjectured) if this King had not been too ſecure, and loſt in his ſenſualities, he would by the like Parliamentary power have rectified thoſe errours, theſe great, high, and difficult works, being (indeed) proper to Parliaments, and pregnant and ſtrong proofs of their great and tranſcendent power, holding in themſelves a juſt deſert and claim of ſuch power and authority (if aſſembled and held as they ought) being a General Aſſembly and Convocation of the moſt wiſe, honourable, juſt, and religious perſons of the Kingdom. Therefore the word Parliament (ſaith one) is compounded of *Parium* and *lamentum*, becauſe (as he thinketh) the Peers of the Countrey did at theſe Meetings complain each to other of the enormities of their Countrey. But the better opinion is, That Parliament is ſimply from the French word *parler* (and that from the Greek παρλεμι, both ſignifying to ſpeak) and ſo by adding the termination, *ment* (which is common in the French Tongue, as well to many Nouns as Adverbs) do make up *Parliament*; meaning thereby an Aſſembly of men called together to ſpeak or confer, *&c.*

Parliament, how ſo called and derived.

And it may not unfitly be called Parliament, for that each man ſhould *parler*, *lament*, ſpeak his minde. But *Laurence Valla* miſliketh that Etymologie.

Lawrence Valla.

It may be gheſſed the word *Parliament* (being tranſported out of *France*) began ſhortly after the Norman Conqueſt. One of the firſt authentical reports of that name, is found in the Statute 3 *E.* 1. commonly called *Weſtminſter Parliament*; that Aſſembly being ſaid to be *Primier generall apres Coronament le Roy*. But that

is

is not the first word: for in the Statutes called *Articuli Cleri*, published 9 *E.* 2, these words are read: *Temporibus progenitorum noſtrorum quondam Regum Angliæ Parliamentis ſuis, &c.* Which words *Progenitorum & quondam*, muſt needs reach higher then *E.* 1. that was but father to him that ſpake it.

But at what time ſoever after the Conqueſt this Court began to be called a Parliament, the ſame was before known to the *Saxons* or Engliſh men, by the word *Sinoth*, and *Micell Sinoth*, of the Greek συνοδος, now appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical meetings onely; and ſometimes by theſe terms, *Micell*, *Gemote*, *Witengemott*, and *Calca Witengemott*; that is, the meeting of wiſemen, or of all the wiſe men: for *witena* ſignifieth wiſe men, *Calca*, all, and *Gemott*, a meeting: of which laſt words the names *Shire-motts*, *Eolmotts*, and *Halymotts*; that is, the meeting or aſſembling of the men of a Shire, of a Town, and of the Tenants of a Hall or Mannor, had their beginning alſo.

Now as *Sinoth* is more uſed in the Parliaments themſelves; ſo *Gemott* is more familiar to the Hiſtorians.

And this Parliament of *Anno* 1 *Rich.* 3. could be of no leſſe power and vertue; witneſſe the many and good Laws made in it, (albeit the ſecond Marriage of King *Edward* was adjudged unlawful, and the Acts of that Parliament for the moſt part repealed and abrogated afterward) yet the evidence is clear enough, that the Judges and Law-makers of that Parliament, were wiſe and religious men, and their Laws upright and juſt.

Therefore whatſoever was adjudged by them, was to be received and held as authentick and inviolable (how roughly ſoever it was afterward handled.) And in this caſe of the diſabling of King *Edwards* ſons, there is leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect them, the cauſe being ſo new, ſo plain, and notoriouſly known, that no man could be ignorant therein: Therefore to have given any other Judgement, but according to the truth of evidence, and certainty of knowledge, it might juſtly have been cenſured an act of errour and ignorance, or partiality and injuſtice.

For it was not the opinion of a few, nor raiſed out of a weak judgement and perverted knowledge; but a ſtrong and general evidence, by the ableſt and beſt knowing.

If it be objected, The caſe was obſcure and doubtful: That cannot be; for the Eſtates had all ſubſtantial and ready means to inform themſelves of the truth, and every circumſtance whereby they might be fully ſatisfied and cleared in all the niceties and doubts: for all the witneſſes and dealers in that cauſe, and ſuch perſons as were acquainted with it, were then living; and they muſt and would have truely and certainly informed the Court of Parliament: For the ſpecial and reverend care of this Court is, The advancing of Juſtice and Right. Therefore all Subjects (by nature or grace) are bound in their Allegeance, to give pious

and religious credit to Parliaments, and to believe in their Authority and Power, as the former times did in Oracles. We must also confidently hold the high and transcendent quality and vertue of that Court, to have all power and authority: And no question to repeal a good and just Law made in Parliament, is a wrong and scandal to that General Councel, and to the universal wisedom, providence, justice and piety of the Kingdom.

In the Parliament 1 *H.* 7. there is an Act, attainting the King *R.* 3. of high Treason, for bearing Arms against the Earl of Richmond, intituled The Soveraign Lord (this was at his proceeding from Milford-hayen into Leicester:) But when he came to fight the Battel, he was then no King, nor Soveraign, but a Chief of such as made head against their Soveraign. In which Paragraph there appears three grosse faults.

First, Certain it is, *Richard* during his Raign was a Soveraign, therefore no Subject.

Next, there was no enemy in the field who was then a Soveraign, but all liege Subjects to the Crown.

And *Richard* being the King and Soveraign, could not be adjudged a Traitor, nor lawfully attainted of High Treason. Then let it be considered whether a person of sacred Majestie (that is, an Anointed Soveraign) may commit the Crime of Treason. Also in this Parliament, all the Barons, Knights and Gentlemen that bore Arms in the field for the King, were attainted of Treason, their goods and lands confiscate: and one *Thomas Nandick* (a Necromancer and Sorcerer, who with others had been condemned to die, for using that hellish Art) was in this Parliament pardoned the horrible things he had committed. And it seemed he had not then left his black trade; for he hath in that Act of Parliament still the style of Conjurer: *viz.* *Thomas Nandick* of Cambridge, Conjurer: which had been a fitter styl for his Gibbet then his Pardon; although he had not by his Sorcery or Inchantment hurt or destroyed any humane, yet for his renouncing and abjuration of Almighty God: for it is the opinion of a learned and religious Doctor: *Magos & Incantores* (saith he) *hominum genus indignum, quod vel ob solam Dei, O. M. abjurationem capitali supplicio afficiatur.* Other such things there be in that Parliament, which detract it in the opinion of some; those of the best and wisest repute.

The Treaty of Marriage between K. *R.* 3. and his Neece the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet.*

Now let us come to examine that Treaty the King had about marrying the Lady *Plantagenet*; which is censured to be a thing not onely detestable, but much more cruel and abominable to be put in agitation.

Item, *That all men, and the Maid her self most of all, detested this unlawful Copulation.*

Item, *That he made away the Queen his wife, to make way for*

this

this Marriage; and that he propounded not the Treaty of Marriage, until the Queen his wife was dead.

That there was such a motion for the marriage of this Lady to the King, is true; and (which is more, and most certain) it was entertained, and well liked by the King and his friends, a good while; also by the Lady *Elizabeth*, and by the Queen her mother; who received it with so much content and liking, that presently she sent into France for her son the Marquesse of Dorset, that was there with the Earl of Richmond, earnestly soliciting him to renounce the Faction, and return home to the Kings favour and advancement, which she assured him: and sends the Lady *Elizabeth* to attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the eye, so in the heart of the King. The Christmas following (which was kept in Westminster-Hall) for the better colour of sending her eldest daughter, she sends her other four thither, who were received with all honourable courtesie by the King and Queen Regent; especially the Lady *Elizabeth* was ranked most familiarly in the Queens favour, and with as little distinction as Sisters. But society, nor all the Pomp and Festivity of those times, could cure that sad wound and languor in the Queens brest, which the death of her onely son had left. The addresse of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feigned wooing of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of suspition to the Earl of Richmonds intelligencing friends, that the King had a purpose to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*; which must prevent the Earl both of his hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title: a clause that made them mutter very broadly against it (for indeed, what more concern'd them?) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly; but the Queen-widow and the Lady stood constant in their desires and expectation; onely the Objection was, The King had a wife; as though he could not marry another whilst she lived; not remembring how usual it was, not onely for Kings, but private men to put away one wife and marry another, for venial crimes, as well as Adultery and Treason. Chronicle Croyland.

The Romanes might repudiate their wives, for conversing with men that were not of their kinred, and for going to see Playes and Cirque Spectacles (their husbands not being with them) or if the wife were unquiet or curst of her tongue, *&c. Henry* the Eighth put away Queen *Katharine* of Castile, and Queen *Anne* of Cleve; the one, because she was too old and cold for pleasure; the other, because she was not fruitful or wanton enough. Sometimes men have put away their wives for being Sluts, for having unsavoury breaths, or some infectious disease, without a necessity of taking away their lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

Pope

Pope *Clement* the Seventh ſo ratified the Divorce of King *Henry* the Eighth againſt *Katherine* of Caſtile, as he defied all Laws (Divine and Humane) that ſhould contradict and impugn his Power and Diſpenſation, in theſe words:

Bulla Papæ Clementis 5. apud D. Ro. Cotton.

Non obſtante Jure Divino nec Humano, nec quibuſcunque Conſtitutionibus repugnantibus, aut in contrarium Edictis.

Ther was a formal Bill or Libel of Separation preſcribed by *Moſes*, with the manner of Divorces and Repudiations, in this tenour, as *Andreas Oſiander* (who tranſlated it out of Hebrew into Latin) affirmeth: which for the rarity I have here tranſcribed.

Oſiander *in Annotation. in 4 Evang. Harmon. Evang.*

Die tertia Hebdomadis, 29 die menſis Octobris,
Anno ab orbe condito, 4349.

EGo Joachim cognominatus N. filius Nathanis, qui conſiſto hodie in urbe N. in Regno N. Te. N. uxorem meam, cognominatam N. filiam N. quæ fuiſti uxor mea ante hac nunc demiſi, & liberavi, & repudiavi te tibi, ut ſis tui juris & domina animæ tuæ, & ad abeundum, ut ducaris abs quolibet viro, quem volueris, & ne vir quiſquam prohibeat, quo minus ſis in manu tua, ito hoc die & in æternum. Et ecce, permiſſa es unicuique viro, & hic eſto tibi a me datus Libellus repudii, & Epiſtola dimiſſoria, & Inſtrumentum libertatis juxta Legem Moſis & Iſraelis.

But the Anſwer which was made in the name of the King to the Lady *Elizabeth* concerning his Queen, was, That ſhe could be no impediment of long continuance, being a very weak woman in a Conſumption, and paſt hopes of recovery; her Phyſitians giving their opinions, ſhe could not live paſt the middle of *February* next following: nor gheſled they much amiſſe; for ſhe died in the next month, *March*. When the midſt and laſt of *February* was paſt, the Lady *Elizabeth* being more impatient and jealous of the ſucceſſe then every one knew or conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating firſt, that he was the man in whom ſhe moſt affied, in reſpect of that love her Father had ever bore him, *&c.* Then ſhe congratulates his many courteſies, in continuance of which, ſhe deſires him to be a mediator for her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage propounded between them, who, as ſhe wrote, was her onely joy and maker in this world, and that ſhe was his in heart and thought: withall inſinuating, that the better part of *February* was paſt, and that ſhe feared the Queen would never die.

The credit of the Duke of Norfolk with King *Richard*, and with the Lady *Elizabeth*; and her Letter to him.

All theſe be her own words, written with her own hand; and this is the ſum of her Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or Original Draft, under her own hand, in the magnificent Cabinet of *Thomas* Earl of Arundel and Surrey: by which it may be obſerved,

ſerved, that this young Lady was ignorant that a man having a wife living, might marry another, and ſuffer her to live. But the truth is, the King had no real intent to make her his wife, from the beginning; onely in policy entertained this Treaty, as it appeared afterward, when his Queen was dead, and he had all fit acceſſes without any impediment to marry her, yet did not; profeſſing he wooed her not to that end, but for ſome other cauſes; and made Proteſtation (in the great Hall at Saint *Jones* neer Smithfield, before all the Knights of Malta, and a great Aſſembly of Noble-men, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and many Citizens being preſent) that he had no purpoſe nor intent to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*: avowing, *Quod cares* (viz.) *Voluntas contrahendi Matrimonium: cum Conſanguinea Germana ſua nunquam ei venerat in mentem*: for ſo it is teſtified by the Prior of Croyland. Yet it may not be denied, he pretended love to her, and a proffer of Marriage; which he projected in policy, to divert her affection from *Richmond* (whoſe party the King apprehended privately wrought that way; of which the ſaid Author thus ſaith, *Non aliter videbat* Richardus *Rex regnum ſibi confirmari, neque ſpem competitoris ſui aufferri poſſe, niſi in Matrimonio, cum dicta* Elizabeth, *contrahendo vel ſimulando.* And it is moſt likely the King had no other aim but meerly of Prevention: neither was there any cauſe (had he been ſo wicked) to do it by blood, nor any juſt reaſon to frame ſo hard an argument againſt him, being always ſo affectionately inclined to his wife, that he was rather thought uxorious then otherwiſe; which appeared unfeignedly at her death, in the expreſſion of ſorrow and magnificent Exequies for her. *Non eum immorte honore quam Reginam dicunt*, as the Prior of Croyland teſtifieth. Let us look therefore with clearer conſideration upon the motion or pretence of this Marriage: to call it deteſtable and cruel, is ignorant and malicious (though ſhe were ſo neer of kin to him) for Marriages between Uncles and Neeces, have been very frequent and allowed in other Countreys by the Church. In our time, the daughter and heir of Duke *Infantaſgo* in Spain, was married to his brother *Don Alde Mendoza*: and more lately, the Earl of Miranda married his brothers daughter.

In the Houſe of Auſtria, Marriages in this kinde have been very uſual, and thought lawful, the Pope diſpenſing with them: for they ſay in Spain, *Que el padre ſanto quiere Dios loquire*: Therefore how could it be ſo highly unlawful in King *Richard*? Or if his intents had been ſo forward, where was the Bar, when his wife was dead, and he abſolute, unleſſe the Ladies averſeneſſe? But that ſuggeſtion is anſwered by her own Letter, and other teſtimonies. So the Account will be (if rightly ſummed by what hath been produced) that he had never any ſerious determination of Marriage; onely took the advantage of his gain, by looking into

The Cabinet of the Earl of Arundel, now Earl of Surrey too.

Chronicle of Croyland.

Chronicle of Croyland.

The Queen died 11 March, 1484.

Prior of Croyland.

her hand; then no cauſe to make away his Queen; which his accuſers themſelves directly and peremptorily charge him not with; but doubtfully ſay, The Queen (however it fortuned) departed out of this life the 16 of *March*, in the Lent ſeaſon. But although he had the commendations of a loving and indulgent husband, I ſay not he lived always continently; for I finde he had ſome baſtards, two of them I have mentioned: yet peradventure he might have them before his Marriage, and then the fault was leſſe. So then, let them that affect not blinde and traditory opinion, more then juſtice and reaſon, but equally examine his ſlanders, they ſhall finde, Malice and ignorance have been the Kings greateſt accuſers, which can onely lay Suſpition to his charge: and Suſpition in Law is no more guilt then Imagination: for, though Suſpition many times lay a great blame upon a man (men holding him to be guilty whom men ſuſpect to be ſo, though injuriouſly) yet the Law holds it not a Crime, becauſe Suſpition many times ſuppoſeth thoſe to be culpable which are not: for an Inſtrument may as eaſily be condemned, as a Malefactor, being an evil grown from the errour of men. Wherefore Suſpition of it ſelf bringeth no ſentence by Law Natural or Moral, Civil or Divine, according to that of the old *Minographus*, *Suſpitio grave eſt hominibus malum*. And the Divine *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, A good man hardly ſuſpecteth another to be evil; but an evil man ſcarcely ſuppoſeth any to be good; far from the counſel of this Epigram.

Culparem quoquam, quæ non ſunt nota malignum eſt;
Preſertim ſi quam cognita ſint bona ſunt.
Non pateant faciles duris rumoribus aures
Quæ neſcire juvat, credere non libeat.
Linquantur ſecreta Deo, qui quicquid opertum eſt
Inſpicit, & nullis indiget indicibus.
Accuſe no man of faults to thee unknown,
And much leſſe him from whom good fruits have grown:
Lend not thine ears to ſcandalous reports;
Believe not that, which known, nought thee imports.
Leave ſecret things to God, who knows all hearts,
And hath no need of the Promoters arts.

But as *Julius Cæſar* (who had many excellent Obſervations) was wont to ſay, *Vir bonus tam ſuſpicione quam crimine carere oportet*: That a good man muſt be as well without ſuſpition as crime. Yet none ſo innocent, but may fall under the laſh of the malicious; for ſuch, like the *Polypus*, will take any colour, or make any tincture of a Crime, to ſerve their ends. Of ſuch a vertue is the never-underſtanding Vulgar, that like Kytes and Daws can digeſt nought but ſtench and filth; their Ignorance being their Faith, and that drawn from looſe Pamphlets, and the vomits of mercinary and mimick pens; to which, and their uncurable fits, I leave them.

Explicit Liber quartus.

THE

Sir *Tho. Moor. Hollinſhead.*

Suſpitio eſt opinio mali ex levibus ſignis. B. Th. Aquinas. *Suſpitio eſt actus per quem in dubitationem trahimur.*

Meos tam ſuſpicione quam crimine judico carere oportere. Suet. in vitâ J. Cæſ.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD the Third.

The Contents.

WHat a *Tyrant is, and how a Tyrant and King* Richard *differ.*

The destruction of the Plantagenets.

The daughters of King Edward *the Fourth, how bestowed. The death of the Queen their Mother.*

The Vertues of King Richard *the Third.*

The Elogie of the three Brothers, King Edward *the Fourth,* George *and* Richard.

The Magnificent, Publike and Charitable Buildings of King Richard *the third. His good Laws, and other good works.*

That to die in the Wars, is no Dishonour, but an

Honour. Artes Regiæ Crimen regale.

His Comparison with other Kings accounted good.

King James *his gracious demeanour to his Cousins.*

A Character and Elogie of King Richard the third.

The title of the Norman Race and of York defended.

The sundry titles of King James.

The Wedding King of England.

Lapis Regno fatalis.

King Richards *Sepulchre and Epitaph.*

The Authors Scope ; Peroratio & Votum.

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK OF King Richard The Third.

WE will next endeavour to understand that Vocable, or term *Tyrannus* (that is, a Tyrant, or an evil King) cast upon King *Richard*; which indeed comprehendeth all scandals and impieties whatsoever. What a Tyrant is.

Tyrannus est qui suis propriis Commodis studet, & publicis adversatur. And, *Tyrannus est qui dominatu crudeliter abutitur.* *Aristot. in 8 Ethic. idem.*

A Tyrant is by another wise man compared to a Dragon, who becometh not a Dragon, until he hath devoured many Serpents: of which Conceit this Epigram was wittily framed.

Post plures Coluber Serpentes Draco sit esos,
Gustat à humanâ carne sit homo Lupus.
The Dragon which doth many Serpents eat,
Becomes a Dragon of huge shape and strength,
And so the man which makes his flesh mans meat,
Transformed is unto a Wolf at length.

Another Philopher differeth not much from these, who saith, that of all tame beasts, the flatterer is most pernicious; and of all wilde, the Tyrant, who forbeareth not for any respect of good *Bias apud Plut. Libell. de adulat. c. 37.*

or ill, but ſtudies Oppreſſions, Wrongs, Exactions, Robberies, Sacriledges, Blood-ſhed, Murder, Adultery, Inceſt, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Luxurioufneſſe, Prodigality, and all manner of Exceſſes: Theſe be his arts of raigning, and theſe be his vertues.

Lucan. *Invident Tyranni claris forteſq; tructdant.*

Another ſaith,

Seneca. Hercules. Furens. *Tyrannus miſerum vetat perire, pulicem jubet.*

Demoſthenes. So it was truely ſaid by the famous Orator of Athens; *Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud eſt quam tranſlatio pecuniarum a juſtis Dominis, ad alienos idque indignos.*

His thirſt and covetouſneſſe, for his largitious riots and luſts, are ſo inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Claudian in Ruff. *Non Tarteſſiaris illum ſatiaret arenis*
Tempeſtas pretioſa Tagi, non ſtagna rubentis,
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exhauſerit Hermum,

Juvenal Satyre 4. *Arde bit majore ſiti,* &c.
Quicquid conſpicuum pulchrumque ex Equore toto,
Res fiſci eſt, &c.

Theſe may ſerve for the notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impieties, our King *Richard* was very little or not at all obnoxious.

Parliam. An. 1 Rich. 3. For firſt, Whereas a Tyrant impoſeth many grievous Taxes and Oppreſſions upon his Subjects, he took away ſuch grievances, and particularly by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax (though diſguiſed with the name of a Benevolence) forbearing to impoſe any upon the people.

Then, A Tyrant doth not onely rapine his Subjects, but ſpoils and robs Churches and Church-men. But King *Richard* did many good things both for the publike good, advancing Gods ſervice, and maintenance of his Miniſters and Church-men.

Tyrannum pium eſſe non eſt facile (as *Sophocles* well obſerved.) And the Oracle pronounced, *Portæ fœlicitatis ad Tyrannidem clauſæ.* Tyrants be cruel and bloody: but this King, by the teſtimony of his enemies, was very merciful and milde; who confeſſe he was of himſelf gentle, and affably diſpoſed. Theſe be their own words.

The Duke of Buckingham ſaid, that the name of Benevolence, as it was taken in the time of K. *Edw.* 4, ſignified, that every man ſhould pay not what he of his own good will liſt, but what the King of his good will liſt to take. Duke *Buck. apud Tho. Moor.*

Therefore, where tyrannical acts be objected againſt him, they muſt be conceived done by other men, or by their practice, or elſe before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor could be properly called Tyranny.

Amongſt thoſe they impute to him when he was King, which are called Tyrannies, the beheading *Henry Stafford* Duke of Buckingham was the chiefeſt: yet that act, the cauſe and juſt motives of it being well peruſed, cannot be cenſured Tyranny; rather, due and neceſſary Juſtice: for if the King had not put down the Duke, the Duke would have put down the King.

Then it is objected, He bare a tyrannical hand over his nephew

Edward

Edward Earl of Warwick. True it is, he ſent him to Shery-Hutton, a goodly and pleaſant houſe of his own, in York-ſhire, where he had liberty, large diet, all pleaſure and ſafety; and if that were impriſonment, it was a priſon Curtoiſe (as *John Froiſard* ſaith) yet this muſt not be leſſe then Tyranny, according to the ſtyle of Sir *Thomas Moore*. When King *Henry* the Seventh, as ſoon as he had got the Crown, ſent this young Prince to the Tower, afterwards cut off his head; yet that was no Tyranny, after Sir *Thomas Moore*. But our King *James* (of ever happie memory) hath thought it an act of ſo much deteſtation, that particularly he proteſted againſt it, and ſhewed another temper of Juſtice and Power in his Royal Clemencie, to certain Noble perſons in one of his Kingdoms, who being Regal Titulars, and pretending title to the Crown there (as deſcended from ſome King of that Countrey) his gracious and pious inclination was ſo far from ſeeking their ruine (or ſo much as the reſtraining them) that he ſuffered their liberty, with poſſeſſion of what they had.

Comes Arund. vi. voce.

King *James.*

Then they call the puniſhment of *Jane Shore* a Tyrannie: A common and notorious Adultereſſe (as the Duke of Buckingham, who knew her very well, cenſured her) which ſhe deſerved ſo juſtly, that it was rather favourable, then ſevere or tyrannous.

Jane Shore.

Next, the death of *William Collingborn* is made one of his Tyrannies; who (as ſome trivial Romancers ſay) was hanged for making a Satyrical Rhyme; when the truth is, he had committed Treaſon, and was arraigned and condemned of High Treaſon, as may be yet ſeen in the Record; and then it was Juſtice, and not Tyrannie.

Anonimus Juris peritus in Apologia K. R. 3.

Another proof againſt their groſſe Paralogiſms, take from this obſervation made by *Demoſthenes*: *Tyrannus res eſt inimica Civibus, legibus contraria.* But King *Richard* was ever indulgent to his people, careful to have the Laws duely obſerved; his making ſo many good ones, being an evident argument of his love to Law and Juſtice. It is further obſerved, that Tyrants contemn good counſel, are opinionated of their own wiſedoms, and obſtinate to determine all matters by themſelves.

Axiom. polit. cap. 219.

Theſe Plaintiffs being called by the Greeks ἰδιοβουλευται, that is, ſelf-Councellors, who ſay they are *natura plerumque occulti & inſidioſi, & Arte, & Aſtu, ea Tagere, & diſſimulare conantur, quæ agunt, non communicantes quicquid de ſuis Conciliis, aut rebus cum aliis, nec ab aliis Concilium petentes, neque admittentes, ſed tantum ſua Concilia ſequuntur.*

Sententia Arabica.

Alſo *Eraſmus* hath this Axiome: *Nullo Concilio quicquam magnæ rei aggredi, tyrannicum eſt.*

But King *Richard* nor did nor would do any thing of importance, without conſultation with the wiſeſt and nobleſt. And if in any matters he had delivered his judgement, yet his manner (as

(as his detractors confeſſe) was, to ſay in the end and concluſion, *My Lords, this is my minde; if any of you know what may elſe be better, I ſhall be ready to change it: for I am not wedded to my own will.* Thus Sir *Thomas Moor.*

Caligula ſpent 230 millions of Crowns in leſſe then a yeer. *Nero* ſaid that there was no uſe of money but for riots and prodigal expences.

Laſtly, Largition and exceſſive expences, are thought vices proper to Tyrants; therather, becauſe the Romane Tyrants, for their extreme exceſſes, were called *Monſtra & prodigia, & hues Imperii, peſtes reipublicæ, &c.* As *Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabolus, Caracalla,* &c.

King *Richard* was ever held to be frugal, with the preſervation of his honour; nor can they tax him with Palliardiſe, Luxury, Epicuriſm, nor Gluttony, vices following many Tyrants; but moderate and temperate in all his actions and appetites; which is confeſſed, and therefore needeth no further proof. Indeed it had been advantage and ſafety to him, in the event, if he had been a Tyrant a while; for then he might have preſerved his life and kingdom, and given a timely check to the practice of Biſhop *Morton*, the Marqueſſe Dorſet, Earl of Devon, and his brother the Biſhop, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Stanley*, and his brother Sir *William Stanley*, with the Counteſſe of Richmond his wife, and the reſt. But his remiſneſſe and patience bred his ruine, not his tyranny; that had been his protection.

King *Richard* in this was like *Julius Cæſar*, who knowing by certain intelligence the conſpiracy and conſpirators againſt his life, alſo the time and place of execution, yet he ſeemed to ſlight and not regard it.

And now the black curtain of malice and detraction is drawn, let us ſee this King in his proper Royalty and vertues caſting up the general and particular notions of A good King and happie Government; then peruſe what was wanting in him.

King *Richards* vertues.

Firſt then, There is neceſſarily required proper to Empire, Wiſedom, Juſtice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wiſedom and Prudence, need no other witneſſe, then his wiſe and provident managing both of his own private affairs, and Government of the Publike. Alſo in the Military actions, in which he was tried, both as a Subject, and a King; his adverſaries can allow him to be a wiſe, prudent, politick and heroical Prince; his Wiſedom appearing, with his Juſtice, very clearly in the good Laws he made; acknowledged and honourably predicated by our Reverend and moſt learned Profeſſors of the Laws.

Juſtice *Shelly* commendeth the Laws of K. *R.* 3. to Card. *Wolſey. Vide Joh. Stow in H.* 8. *pag.* 882. *Chronic. M.S. in quarto, apud D. Rob. Coton.*

For his further knowledge and love of Juſtice, there can be no fairer argument, then his deſire and cuſtome to ſit in Courts of Juſtice, hearing and diſtributing Juſtice indifferently to all men.

And when he made his Progreſſe into York-ſhire, being informed there of ſome extortioners and foul offenders, who were apprehended, not tried, he cauſed the Law to take the juſt current, giving ſtrict charge and commandment to all Officers of Juſtice, for juſt adminiſtration to all men, without partiality or private reſpects.

The

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (though of lowe ſtature) were ſo great and famous, as they need no Trumpet or Præcony, being bred from his youth in Martial actions: and the Battels of Barnet, Exham, Doncaſter, the ſecond of St Albans, and of Tewksbury, will give him the reputation of a Souldier and Captain.

Being made General of the Kings Armies into Scotland, he prevailed happily in his Expedition, and particularly recovered that famous and ſtrong Hold of Berwick, which King *Henry* the Sixth had ſo weakly let go.

And in this you ſhall hear the Elogie of one that was loth to ſpeak much in his favour, yet occaſion forced him to ſpeak his knowledge, though coldly and ſparingly. *King* Richard *was no ill Captain in the War: he had ſundry Victories, and ſometimes Overthrows; but never by his own default, for want of hardineſſe or politick order.* Whereunto he addeth concerning his Bounty; *Free was he called of diſpence, and liberal ſomewhat above his power.* To which I will adde one Elogie more, above all for Credit and Authority, recorded in an Act of Parliament, and addreſſed to him in the name of the whole high Court of Parliament, in theſe words. *We conſider your great Wit, Prudence, Juſtice, and Courage; and we know by experience the memorable and laudable acts done by you in ſeveral Battels for the ſalvation and defence of this Realm.*

Sir *Tho. Moor.* Doctor *Morton.*

Parl. anno R. 3.

Here followeth another general and memorable teſtimony of him, and of more regard and honour, becauſe it is averred by one that knew him from his youth, the Duke of Buckingham, who (after *Richard* was made King, and this Duke became ill affected) acknowledged to Biſhop *Morton* in private ſpeeches between them, That he thought King *Richard*, from his firſt knowledge even to that time, a man clean without diſſimulation, tractable, and without injury; and that for theſe reſpects, he was very deſirous to advance him, and laboured earneſtly to make him Protector. Therefore whatſoever the Duke ſaid after, in reproach of the King, it may juſtly be thought to proceed from ſpleen and malice.

Morton. Moor apud Stow, p. 774.

There is to this the commendation of his Eloquence and pleaſing ſpeech; which though no Regal vertue, yet it is an ornament to the greateſt Princes, and commendable. The Prior of Croyland repeating the diſpute of a Controverſie between the two brothers, *George* Duke of Clarence, and this *Richard* of Glouceſter, at the Councel-Table, before the King their brother, ſitting in his Chair of State, relates it thus:

Eloquentia Principibus maxime eſt ornamento. Cic. de finibus, l. 4.

Poſt ſuſcitatas, inter Duces fratres, diſcordias, tot utrinque rationes acutiſſimæ allegatæ ſunt in preſentia Regis (ſedentis pro Tribunali in Camera Concilii) quod omnes circumſtantes, etiam periti Legum eam orationis abundantiam ipſis principibus in ſuis propriis cauſis adeſſe mirabantur, &c. Then ſpeaking of the excellent wits,

The praiſe of the three princely brothers.

extraordinary knowledge and gifts of theſe three brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: *Hi tres Germani, Rex, & duo Duces, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut ſi diſcordare non voluiſſent funiculus ille triplex difficilime rumperetur.*

The good works of King *Richard*. *John Stow, Anal.*

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and magnificent works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Prieſts in Middleham in York-ſhire; another Colledge of Prieſts in London in Tower-ſtreet, neer to the Church called Our Lady *Berking*. He built a Church or Chappel in Towton in Glouceſter-ſhire; a Monument of his thankfulneſſe to Almighty God, for the happie and great Victory his brother had upon the partiſans of the family of Lancaſter, and the ſons of *Henry* the Sixth, who before ſlew *Richard* Duke of York, King deſignate, and father of theſe two Kings.

Polidor, lib. 25.

He founded a Colledge in York, convenient for the entertainment of an hundred Prieſts.

He diſforreſted a great part of the Forreſt of Wich-wood, and other vaſt Woods between Woodſtock and Briſtow, for the good and benefit of the people of Oxford-ſhire and the places adjacent.

Richard loved not Wich-wood for his brothers unhappie Marriage.

He built the high ſtone Tower at Weſtminſter (which at this day is a work of good uſe.) And when he had repaired and fortified the Caſtle of Carliſle, he founded and built the Caſtle of Penrith in Cumberland.

He manumiſſed many Bond-men.

In Rot. in domo Converſorum, An. 1 *R.* 3.

For the better encouragement of the Eaſterling-hanſes (their Trade being beneficial and profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them ſome good Priviledges, as *Polidor* writeth.

Charles the Great inſtituted the Colledge and Society of Armoriſts, calling them Heralds of *Ehr & Halten*, (Dutch or Franchiſh words) and not of Heroes.

He alſo firſt founded the Colledge and Society of Heralds, and made them a Corporation: and (as the words in the Charter are) he ordained it, *Vt ſint in perpetuum Corpus Corporatum in re & nomine, habeant Succeſſionem perpetuam*, &c. (A taſte of his love to Honour, and his Noble care for the conſervation of Nobility, Chevalry and Gentry.) Which Corporation; this King eſtabliſhed by his Royal Charter; and placed the Heralds in an ancient fair houſe, which was called Yorkime, ſometimes; after commonly Cole-harbour, ſituate upon the Thames: ordaining Four Kings at Arms, by the names and Titles of *John Writh*, Garter; *Thomas Holme*, Clarentius; *John Moore*, Norway; and *Richard Champney*, Glouceſter.

For Wales, I have ſeen the Charter wherewith the King created firſt *Richard Champney* Eſquire, King at Arms, by the Title and name of Glouceſter, dated *Anno* 1 *R.* 3. at Weſtminſter, in the month of *March*, when the Charter of the Foundation was granted.

He further eſtabliſhed, That theſe four Kings at Arms, and the reſt of the Heralds, who are in the Charter called *Heraldi &*

Pro-

Proſecutores ſive Purſevandi, ſhould lodge, live and common together, in that houſe, where the Rolls, Monuments and Writings (appertaining to the Office and Art of Heraldry and Armory) ſhould be kept; giving alſo Lands and Tenements for the perpetual maintaining of a Chaplain or Chantry Prieſt, to ſay and ſing Service every day, and to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and for their ſouls when they were dead.

Laſtly, he gave ſundry good Priviledges and Immunities to the ſaid Corporation: which Charter was kept continually in the Office until within theſe few yeers; but now is in another place: the want of it importeth nothing, being the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives, kept in the Convert-houſe, now called the Rolls. It was confirmed by the Parliament, and dated 2° *die Martii, anno regni primo, apud Weſtmonaſterium*, Baron: and underneath was written, *Per Breve de privato Sigillo, de datu predicto, autoritati Parliamenti.*

He alſo built or repaired ſome part of the Tower of London towards the Thames: in memory whereof, there be yet his arms impaled with thoſe of the Queen his wife, ſtanding upon the Arch adjoyning to the Sluce-gate.

He began many other good works, which his ſudden fate prevented; as *Polidor* thus witneſſeth.

Richardus Tertius multa opera publica & privata inchoavit, quæ immaturâ morte præreptus non perfecit. Which works and monuments of Piety ſhew not the acts of a Tyrant. *Polidor Virgil*, being neither Yorkiſt nor Lancaſtrian, ſpeaks much in commendation of his pious and charitable diſpoſition; to which I refer the Readers, and put it to their indifferent judgements, How many of thoſe called Good Kings, have exceeded him in their longer and proſperous time, being in quiet poſſeſſion too of their Crown and Kingdoms? Let me adde for a Corollary, what that of the worthy Prelate *Archebald Quhitlaw* (chief Secretary, and a Privie Councellor of Scotland) in his Oration, when he was one of the Commiſſioners for a concluſion of a Peace and Marriage between Prince *James*, eldeſt ſon to the King of Scotland, and the Lady *Anne*, daughter to *John de la Pool*: from whence I have collected theſe.

Sereniſſime Princeps,

Una me res conſolatur, & juvat, tua (ſcil.) in omni virtutis genere celeberrimæ fama per omnem Orbis terrarum ambitum diſſeminata, tuæ etiam innatæ benignitatis clariſſima præſtanſque humanitas, tua manſuetudo, liberalitas, fides, ſumma juſtitia, incredibilis animi magnitudo, tua non humana, ſed pene divina ſapientia, te non modo ſingulis facilem, verum vulgo & popularibus affabilem præbes & quibus virtutibus altâque prudentiâ cuncta & pronunciata & dicta in meliora commutas. Sereniſſimus Princeps Rex Scotorum,

Pacem & uxorem neptem Regis petit.

rum, Dominus meus, qui te alto amore prosequitur, te desiderat, tuam, Amicitiam & Affinitatem affectat, suprà captum cogitationis meæ; si quid a me erratum erit, tuis & divinis virtutibus, quibus Commercium cum Cœlestibus numinibus & societatem contraxeris, tribuendum putato.

Richardus fuit Statura parva.

Faciem tuam summo Imperio & Principatu dignam inspicit, quam moralis & Heroica virtus illustrat, de te dici prædicarique potest quod Thebanorum Principi inclytissimo statui Poeta his verbis attribuit.

Nunquam tantum animum natura minori
corpore, nec tantas visa est includere vires. Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. In te enim sunt rei militaris, virtus, peritia, fœlicitas, & autoritas, quæ omnia in optimo exercitus principe Cicero *requirit.*

In te (Serenissime Princeps) præclari Regis & Imperatoris præcepta ita concurrunt, ut nihil ad tuam Bellicam, aut domesticam virtutem cujusquam oratoris verbis apponi possit.

Tu igitur (Serenissime Domine & Princeps) de ineunda inter te & nostrum Principem charitate & amicitia, sic age, ut Angli & Scoti dilectionis respectu nullum penitus discrimen habeatur, sed in unum amoris & benevolentiæ vinculum videantur esse connexi, sic numerabiles commoditates ex tui, & nostri populi dilectione, dulci connubio, unione, Matrimonio, & Affinitate consurgent.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
Lustrabunt, convexa polus dum sidera pascet.
Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque Thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ,
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

But what is this, or more, to malice and detraction, that haunt him to his death; and after that, making the Catastrophe, or last Tragical act of his life at Bosworth-field, an immediate stroke of the divine vengeance, for such offences as they please to particular from women or superstitious Clerks, whose natures startle at the noise of War and Martial trial, to whose fears and weakness, such reasons would sound tolerable. But if Bishop *Morton* and Sir *Thomas Moor* (although they were men of the long Robe) had considered with whom they conversed, and where they most lived; how could they forget, That to die valiantly in the field, for Countrey, life and friends, was always held a glorious farewel to the world; or what infinite numbers of vertuous and most noble Captains have fallen so by the Sword and fate of War.

To be slain in War, is no evil or unhappie death.

Optimes quosq; violenta morte consumptos esse affirmat. Lam. Alexander.

Lampridius affirmeth, that all the best men have died violent deaths: and what higher Quarrel could call any Heroical spirit, then King *Richard*'s, fighting for a Crown, kingdom, and all his happie Fortunes here. God hath many times taken away Princes, and changed the Government of kingdoms for the iniquities of the people; why then should not King *Richard*'s fate be held in a modest Scale, until we can better know or judge it? Nor can it be safe

ſafe to enquire, or peremptorily to determine further after Gods proceedings in ſuch caſes. He that owes him no malice (things looked upon thorow judgement and charity) may with more juſtice ſay he died valiantly, and in a juſt quarrel, when many of his enemies fell by deaths more vile, and ſhameful Executions.

King *Richard* was ſlain, Aug. 22. 1493. when he had raigned 2 yeers and 5 months, accounting his Protectorſhip; and about the 37th year of his age.

But he that hath but a reaſonable pittance of Humanity, will cenſure no mans life by the manner of his death: for many good and holy men have ſuffered by violent deaths; though it be this Princes fortune to fall under the ill affections of envious pens, more then many that committed more publike and proved crimes then he, which wanted much of his vertues and deſert.

King *Henry* 1.

Examine him with *Henry* the Firſt, the good Clerk, and learned Prince, but ſo covetous and ambitious, that he could not be content to uſurp in this Kingdom the Right and Primogeniture of his elder brother, *Robert Courthoſe*; but by force took the Dukedom of Normandy from him: and to make his injuries more exact and monſtrous, caſt him into the Caſtle of Glouceſter, there kept him in cruel durance, and cauſed his eyes to be put out; ſo wearied him to moſt miſerable death.

King *John*.

King *John*, by the general voice, is charged with the murder of *Arthur Plantagenet* the ſon of his eldeſt brother, and ſo the next Prince in right of blood to King *Richard* the Firſt.

King *Edw.* 3.

And it is written by good Authors, that *Edward* the Third was not onely privie and conſenting to the depoſing the King his father (a King anointed) but alſo to his Maſſacre. And becauſe *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of Kent, Protector, and his Uncle, moved him to reſtore the Crown to his father *Edward* the Second, he called him Traitor, and cut off his head at Weſtminſter.

King *Hen.* 4.

How King *Henry* the Fourth cauſed King *Richard* the Second (the true and anointed King) to be cruelly butchered at Pomfret, is too notorious: and this was *Scelera ſceleribus tueri*.

King *Edw.* 4. *Seneca de Clementia.*

King *Edward* the Fourth is accuſed of the murder and death of the King Saint *Henry*, and of *Edward* Prince of Wales his ſon, (*Ut ſupra.*)

King *Hen.* 7.

King *Henry* the Seventh (although amongſt the beſt Kings in his general character) is not thought guiltleſſe of that *Crimen ſacrum vel regale*, in cutting off *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of Warwick, an innocent.

Gul. Campden in Britan. & Corn.

Edwardum, filium Ducis Clarentiæ, puerum & infantem, in ſuam, & ſuorum ſecuritatem capite plexit.

And to ſecure his Eſtate, had more then learnt other ſmart rules of Policie. That reach of State upon *Philip* of Auſtrich, Duke of Burgundy, King of Caſtile and Arragon, is not the leaſt memorable.

Grafton. Hollinſhead.

This Prince *Philip* was by croſſe Fortune put into the Kings hands: purpoſing out of Flanders to go into Spain, with the Queen his wife, took ſhipping at Sluce, and paſſing by the coaſts

of Eng'and, was by a tempeſt forced for his ſafety to put into the Port of Weymouth in Dorſet-ſhire: the Queen being ill, and diſtempered much with the ſtorm, was compelled to make ſome ſtay there.

Sir *John Carew*, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (principal men in thoſe parts) gave ſpeedy intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the accident, and purpoſed to make good uſe of it, as ſpeedily returning his command to give them all honourable entertainment; but not ſuffer them to depart, until he had ſeen and ſaluted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as ſoon as the Queen and the reſt had recover'd and refreſht themſelves, thought he was onely to give thoſe Knights thanks, and take his leave; which they by way of courteſie and requeſt interpoſe, in behalf of the Kings vehement deſire to ſalute him and the Queen: a motion the Duke much preſt to be excuſed from, as the neceſſity of his journey ſtood; but the intreaty was ſo imperious, he muſt ſtay, and alter his journey for Windſor, to meet the King, who received him there in a magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feaſt, propounds a ſuit to the Duke for *Edmund de la Pool* (then in his Dominions) a pretender to the Crown of England, and not ſo ſoundly affected to him: a ſuit of a harſh expoſition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemiſh of his honour and piety, as he nobly urged: but no argument had vertue, nor no vertue argument enough to excuſe it; the King muſt have him, or the Duke muſt ſtay. Caſt upon this extreme (and foreſeeing what diſadvantages were upon him, ſome honourable conditions granted, that he ſhould neither lay puniſhment nor death upon him) he gave his promiſe to ſend him, and the King ſtrictly and religiouſly bound himſelf to the exceptions.

The Duke accordingly ſent this *de la Pool* into England; who upon his arrival was delivered to the Tower; but his life not toucht until the King lay a dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Reſervation, enjoyning his ſon after his death to cut off his head; which was done when he came to be King, and was held ſome taint to them both; though the ſon held himſelf acquit & warranted by the example of King *Solomon*, who was made the inſtrument of ſuch another ſubtil ſlaughter by his father *David*, that thought he kept himſelf by equivocation: examples not to be imitated by any Chriſtian Prince, being a ſin; and ſins are to be avoided, not imitated.

The eldeſt brother of theſe *de la Pools*, *John de la Pool*, heir to the Duke of Suffolk, and Head of this Family, was ſlain caſually at the Battel of Stoke; and is he who, as neereſt kinſman to King *Richard* the Third, was proclaimed heir apparant. The ſiſter of theſe Princely *de la Pools*, the Lady *Katherine*, was kept cloſe priſoner in the Tower, until grief and ſorrow bowed her to the grave.

Nor

Nor is it much from our purpoſe to note, that the chief *Plantagenets*, namely, the children of King *Edward* the Fourth, had but cold influences then: for the Lady *Bridget* was thruſt into a Nunnery at Dartford, chiefly (as it was thought) that ſhe ſhould live ſterile, and die without iſſue. The Lady *Cecily* was married to a baſe fellow, that ſo her iſſue might be ignoble and contemptible; the wrong being the greater, in regard ſhe was offered Matches to her quality; the King of Scotland propounding Prince *James* unto her; and the French King *Lewis* demanded her for the Dolphin *Charles* of France.

Grafton.

Polidor. lib. 4.

It was obſerved too, that this King was but an unkinde and ſevere husband to his Queen (indeed:) they had all but ſhort lives; and our Stories report he picked a quarrel with the Queen-Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial errour, becauſe ſhe delivered her ſon *Richard* to the Protector; for which there was a Confiſcation upon all her Goods, Chattels and Revenues, and ſhe confined to Bermondſey Abbey, where ſhe lived not long, care and griefe untwiſting the threed of her ſad fate. And when death had ſeized him from all the glories and policies of this world, his ſon ſucceeds; and then, *Reſiduum Locuſtæ, Bruchus comedit; & reſiduum Bruchi comedit Rubigo:* for, what remained of the Houſe of York, he gave the laſt blowe to; and after the diſpatch of the aforeſaid *Edmund de la Pool*, cauſed the Lady *Margaret Plantagenet* Counteſſe of Salisbury, then daughter and heir of *George* Duke of Clarence, to be attainted of Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and condemned unheard, being dragged to the Block barbarouſly by the hair of her head, though above Threeſcore yeers in age, *Anno* 33 *Henr.* 8. Not long after, Sir *Henry Pool* her eldeſt ſon was put to death, and her ſon *Reynold Pool* was attainted of Treaſon with her (no man knowing what the Treaſon was) but got ſuddenly out of the Kingdom into Italy, where he became much favoured by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward made Cardinal, and highly renowned) in thoſe times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble merits. *Richard Pool*, another ſon of the Counteſſe of Salisbury, fled, and lived a baniſhed man in forraign Countreys; yet at the height of a good reputation, until he was ſlain at the Battel of Pavia.

Although the Lady *Anne* and the Lady *Katherine* were well married, that may not be alleadged here; for they were beſtowed in the time of *Rich.* 3. the one to the Lord *Haward*, after Duke of Norfolk, the other to the Earl of Devon. *Robert Glover. Joel, cap.* 1.

Dominus Joh. Baro Lumley, viva voce.

Theſe be ſad pauſes, which my Pen but touches at, to note the Partiality of ſome on one ſide, and the malignity of ſome on the other ſide, who have made King *Richard* the worſt of all Princes; when other of our own, have had as great an appetite of Empire, whoſe fames and ſacred names we gratulate with honour.

Nor let my juſt and plain meaning be miſtaken, which urges nothing in diſlike or exprobation that King *Henry* the Seventh had the Crown, whom our age muſt acknowledge a wiſe, provident

dent and religious Prince, The reſtorer of the ancient Line of the Britiſh Kings to their Raign and Kingdom, Nephew of King *Henry* the Sixth by his Grandmother Queen *Katherine*, widow of King *Henry* the Fifth, and mother of King *Henry* the Sixth, and of his brother Uterine *Edmund Tendor* Earl of Richmond, the father of this King *Henry* the Seventh; and ſo he was Nephew alſo to *Charles* the Seventh King of France. I onely conceive he took it by too violent a hand, not ſtaying *tempus bene placiti*.

And here I may fitly take occaſion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Titles of the Normans, and Princes of York, by our vulgar Hiſtorians and Chroniclers.

The ſundry great Titles of our King to the Crown of England.

And firſt, we are to ſuppoſe, If there be, it grew by the errour of King *Edwards* Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weakned (at the leaſt blemiſhed) but that could have no continuance, being made ſound again as ſoon as King *Richard* came to raign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty power of ſundry Parliaments, by which it was made as ſtrong and firm as ever; beſides the aid of the Diſpenſations Apoſtolical (in thoſe times ſacred and authentick.) And without that (if need were) our King now raigning hath other Royal Rights, more then *funiculus Triplex*; ſome more ancient, authentick and juſt, therefore more ſecured, and of more proſperous hopes then that Norman Title, which was a violent acqueſt of the Sword, and a purchaſe made by blood, ſo conſequently none of the beſt; which was well conceived by that great *Macedon*, when he ſaid, *Non eſt diuturna poſſeſſio in quam gladio inducimus*. Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Confeſſor is ſaid to have made to *William* the Conquerour, being to no purpoſe, becauſe that gift or Legacy was diſclaimed and diſallowed by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.

Alex. apud Curtium, lib. 8.

Yet time now, and preſcription, have alſo made that Title good: for preſcription hath power to ratifie and confirm the Titles both of Princes and of private men.

But our King is the immediate and ſole lawful Heir of King *Egbert* (who firſt gave the name of *England* to this Land, and was abſolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Athelſtan*, *Alfred*, and many others, as well Saxons and Angles, as Anglo-Saxons, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duely deſcended and devolved to *Edmund Ironſide* King of England, who was father to the moſt Noble *Clyto*, *Edward* ſirnamed *Exul*, whoſe fair daughter and heir (a religious Lady) the Princeſſe *Margaret* of England, was married to *Malcom Canmoire* King of Scotland; from which ancient and happie Alliance, the King our Soveraign Lord is directly and certainly deſcended, and is the true and onely Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; ſo the moſt ancient and famous

Clyto, that is, A Prince of the blood.

famous Title, and Right of the first Kings of Britain are in him, being the next Heir of our last British King *Henry Tendor*, wose Genealogie I have seen derived from the antique Kings of Britain, and from divers other British Princes. And this *Henry Tendor* (or the Seventh) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his claim, by the strongest and greatest authority, procured them decreed to him and to his issue (so established in himself and his posterity for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

Anno 1. H. 7. in Parliament in Novemb.

TO the Pleasure of Almighty God, and for the Wealth, and Prosperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, to the singular Comfort of all the Subjects of the same, and for avoyding all Ambiguities and Questions:

Be it Ordained, Established and Enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realm of England, and also of France, with all the Pre-eminencies and Dignities Royal to the same appertaining, and all Liegances to the King belonging beyond the Seas, with the appurtenances thereunto in any wise due or appertaining, To be, rest, remain and abide in the most Royal person of our Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his body lawfully comming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and so to endure, and in no other.

Which is also another Title to our King, Heir to *Henry* the Seventh.

And this Act was renewed and firmly established, for our Soveraign Lord King *James*, *Anno regni primo*.

Yet King *Henry* the Seventh obtained of the Pope another Title, *Jure Belli*.

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of Britain) are coalesced and met in our Soveraign King; for he hath not onely the claims of the ancient Kings of Britain, of the Saxons, and Anglo-Saxons Kings, and of the Norman Race; but also the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of York, of Lancaster, and of *Wales*, &c.

And (not as the least, in reference with these) he hath in

 posses-

possession also, those singular and particular Monuments of Empire and Raign, by some called *Fata Regni*, and *Instrumenta & Monumenta Regno, & Imperio destinata.*

The wedding Ring of England.

Edwardus Elthelredus d'Rivallis.

One being the Ring of the accounted holy King *Edward*, the son of King *Etheldred*, which was consecrated and extraordinarily blessed by Saint *John Baptist* in Palestine, and sent back by the King (as old Writers tell) which hath been religiously kept in the Abbey of Westminster, and is (as Tradition goes) the Ring which the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Inauguration and Consecration of the Kings, puts upon their finger; called in our Stories, *The Wedding Ring of England.*

The fatall stone.

The other Monument of the British Empire, is the Marble-stone whereupon *Jacob* laid his head, when he had those cælestial and mystical Visions mentioned in holy Writ; which stone was brought out of Palestine into Ireland, and from thence carried into Scotland by King *Keneth*; after translated to the City of Scone, and used for the Chaire wherin the Kings sate at their Coronation; brought out of Scotland by *Edward* the First into England, as the best Historians of Scotland and England relate.

Hector Boetius lib. 4. Et Geo. Buchan. Gul. Cambden.

Cathedram Marmoream Regibus Scotorum fatalem (in qua insidentes Scotorum Reges Coronare consueverant.)

Rex Edwardus primus e Scona Londinum transtulit, & in Westmonasterio (ubi hodie visitur) deposuit.

It is set or born in a Chaire of Wood, and for a perpetual honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at Westminster) this is writ:

——*Si quid habet veri vel Chronica cana, fidesve*
Clauditu hac Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapis,
——*Ad caput, eximius* Jacob *quondam Patriarcha,*
Quem posuit cernens numina mirifica;
Quem tulit a Scotis Edwardus *primus*, &c.

In hoc lapide fatum regni Scotiæ continetur. Geor. Buchan.

George Buchanus saith, The people are seriously perswaded that in this stone (which he calleth *Lapidem Marmoreum rudem*) the state of the kingdom is contained, and that *fatum Regni* is thus understood; *viz.* What King of Scotland soever is Lord of that Stone, & Soveraignly possessed thereof, shall be King and raign in the Countrey where he findeth that stone: thus told in a prophetical Distich.

Ni fallat fatum, Scotus quocunque locatum
Inveniet lapidem, regnare tenetur ibidem.

Which

Which Prophecie was accompliſhed in King *James*, when he came firſt into England: for his Titles were not onely *funiculus triplex qui difficile rumpitur*; but alſo *funiculus multiplex qui vix quam rumpitur*. And may thoſe Titles for ever be eſtabliſht in his Loins, according to that of the heavenly Meſſenger, *Regnum perpetuum. & cujus non eſt finis.* Amen.

Scotus primus Rex Scotiæ, ut Anglus Gallus Hiſpannus &c. pro Rex Angliæ Galliæ Hiſpan. &c.

Thus I have led you thorow the various Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this Princes Life, to his laſt act and place, where, after Revenge and Rage had ſatiated their barbarous cruelties upon his dead body) they gave his Royal earth a bed of earth, honourably, appointed by the Order of King *Henry* the Seventh, in the chief Church of Leiceſter, called Saint *Maries*, belonging to the Order and Society of the Gray Friers; the King in ſhort time after cauſing a fair Tomb of mingled colour'd Marble, adorned with his Statue, to be erected thereupon, to which ſome grateful pen had alſo deſtined an Epitaph, the Copie whereof (never fixtto his ſtone) I have ſeen in a recorded Manuſcript-Book chained to a Table in a Chamber in the Guild-hall of London: which (the faults and corruptions being amended) is thus repreſented, together with the Title thereunto prefixed as I found it.

Octob. 9. 1646.

Imprimatur, *Na: Brent.*

TO give you him in his equal Draught and Compoſition: He was of a mean or lowe compact, but without diſproportiõ & unevenes either in lineaments or parts (as his ſeverall Pictures preſent him.) His aſpect had moſt of the Souldier in it; ſo his natural inclination (Complexions not uncertainely expounding our Diſpoſitions) but what wants of the Court-Planet, effeminate Cenſurers think muſt needs be harſh and crabbed (and Envie will pick quarrels with an hair, rather then want Subject.) The Judgement and Courage of his Sword-actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratified with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own default, for lack of Valour or Policie. At Court, and in his general deportment, of an affable reſpect and tractable cleerneſſe. In his diſpence, of a magnificent liberal hand, ſomewhat above his power (as Sir *Tho. Moor* ſets down.) And ſurely the many Churches, with other good works he founded, (more then any one former King did in ſo ſhort a time) muſt commend him charitable and religious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his wiſedom and ſtrain of Government, which all men confeſſe of the beſt. So having (even from thoſe his biterreſt times) the eſteem of a valiant, wiſe, noble, charitable and religious Prince, why ſhould ours deprave him ſo much upon truſt, & deny works their character and place? Epi-

Sir *Tho. Moor.* Duke *Bucking.* in his ſpeech to Mr. *Morton.*

EPITAPHIVM
Regis Richardi tertii,
Sepulti ad Leiceſtriam, juſſu, & ſumptibus Sti Regis Henrici Septimi.

HIc ego, quem varioTellus ſub Marmore claudit,
Tertius a juſta voce Richardus *eram;*
Tutor eram Patriæ, Patrius pro jure Nepotis;
Dirupta, tenui regna Britanna, fide.
Sexaginta dies binis duntaxat ademptis
Ætateſque, tuli tunc mea Sceptra, duas. — *Annos 2. & 51. dies.*
Fortiter in Bello certans deſertus ab Anglis,
Rex Henrice, *tibi, ſeptime, ſuccubui.*
At ſumptu, pius ipſe, tuo, ſic oſſa dicaras,
Regem olimque facis Regis honore Coli.
Quatuor exceptis jam tantum, quinq; bis annis
Acta trecenta quidem, luſtra ſalutis erant, — *Anno Dominie 1484.*
Antique Septembris undena luce Kalendas, — *Die 21. Aug.*
Rediderat rubræ jura petita Roſæ.
At mea, quiſquis eris, propter commiſſa precarem
Sit Minor ut precibus pœna levata tuis.

Deo O. M. Trino & Uno,
ſit laus & gloria æterna.
AMEN.

EPI-

EPIGRAMMA

In Richardos Angliæ Reges, ex vet. lib. M. S. transcriptum.

TRes sunt Richardi *quorum fortuna erat æqua,*
In tribus æscariis sua cujus propria sors est,
Nam Concors horum finis sine posteritate
Corporis, atque rapax vitæ modus, & violentus
Interitus fuerat; sed major gloria primi,
Prælia terrarum qui gesserat & redeuntem
Tela Balistarum feriunt apud exteræ regna.
Alter depositus regno, qui carcere Clausus,
Mensibus extiterat certis, fame velle perire
Elegit potius, quam famæ probra videre.
Tertius exhausto statim ampla divitiarum
Edwardi *cumulo, proscribens auxiliares*
Henrici *partes, post annos denique binos*
Suscepti regni, Bello confectus eisdem
Mundanam vitam, tum perdidit atque Coronam:
Anno milleno; Centum quater octuageno,
Adjunctis quinque, & cum lux Sextilis adest
Undena duplex, dentes apri stupuerunt,
Et vindex albæ Rosæ Rubra resloret in orbe.

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Suspition, *evill of it*, 30. *Note of an evill minde*, ib. *Honest mind not suspitious*, ib.

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Richard *Duke of Yorke*, 2d *ſon of* Edw. 4. *ſent beyond ſea, and brought up privately at* Warbecke *in Flanders, for feare of the faction of* Lancaſter, 85, 87. *Diſcovers himſelfe*, 88. *Is acknowledg'd by the Engliſh Nobility*, ib. *Favoured of Forreign Princes*, 90, 91. *His various fortunes*, 92. *Is proclaimed King*, 92. *Is taken and ſent to the Tower*, 93. *His ſufferings there*, 94. *His offence forged, for which he is hang'd at Tiburn*, 95.
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An Explication of ſome dark words and Sentences.

SOtbriquets *or Sobriquets; Nicke-names*, 4.
Angeume, of or belonging to Anjou.
Naturall ſon; i. a Baſtard, alſo a naturall Father.
Rodomantade, *p.* 12. *brag or bravado.*
Cloth *of aſſuyance*, 27. *Towel or napkin that wait on the cup.*
Contraſt, *withſtanding or repugnance.*
Parergum, 32. *Something added that is not of the principall matter.*
Tort, 35. *wrong, injury, and violeuce.*
Vmbrage *or* Ombrage, 35. *Suſpition, alſo diſgrace.*
Diſguſt, 36. *Diſtaſte.*
Contrecar, 44. *A counter-ſtrength, &c:*
Filij populi, 44. *Baſtards ſo called, being children of common women, & in reſpect of the Father of uncertaine Parentage.*
Ne Croix ny Pile, 51. *Neither croſs nor pile, not one title or jot of right, &c.*
Ambidexter, *a Jack on both ſides.*
Brother *uterine*, 51. (1) *by the mothers ſide.*
Abbayance. 53. *In delay or diſpute, ſuch as Lawyers uſe, a term borrowed from another creature.*
Apodixis, 60. *Plain demonſtration of a thing.*
Jnconcuſs, *that cannot be ſhaken, undaunted.*
Bartlemies, 63. *Meant of the great and generall maſſacre of above* 100000. *Proteſtants in* France, *chiefly in* Paris, *and the Countrey adjoyning on Saint* Bartholmews *Eve*, Anno 72. *whereupon* S^t. *Bartholmews teares,*

Bartholomæus flet, quia Gallicus occubat Atlas.

Como

Como sal in aqua, 105. *Is meant of ſuddain waſhing.*
Monomachy, 62. *When two fight ſingle without ſeconds.*
Cadet, 67. *A younger brother.*
Guerdonable, *worthy of reward*, 75.
Aneu, 45. *An acknowledging, or taking for his owne. Gens ſans adneu, vagabonds, that none will owne ſo Baſtards, are not admitted to their adneu (1) not acknowledged by their Fathers.*
Rebus de Picardy, *Deviſes and repreſentations of odd things by words & mottoes, which preſent one thing, and by deviding the word, in prounnciation, ſignifie another.*
Faulcon Serrure, *An abſcene French device, and preſents the uſe of Italian lockes.*

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Ariſtotle.
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Claudian.
Croyland.
Comineus
Cooke
Demoſthines
Dion.
Æſopus.
Euripides
Ennius
Eraſmus
Epictetus
Fabian
Fuchius
Froiſard
Grafton
Glover
Guinsford
Goodwin
Du Hailon
Hall
Hollinſhead
Hyrd
Dele-Hay
Harding
Hiſt. de Brit.
Homer
Julius Capital
Juvenall
Juſtus Vulterius
Lib. Manuſcr.
Apud D. Rob. Cotton.
Lampridius
Lucan
Maximus.
Moore
Monſtrolet
Newbrigenſis
Nyerus
Ovid
Oſiander
Pliny
Paradin
Polidor virg.
Plutarch
Seneca
Sarisburenſis
Stow
Strabo
Socrates
Stanford
Suetonius
De Serces
Tacitus
Terence
Tillet
Virgill
Valla
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With many Parliament Roules and Records.

FINIS,